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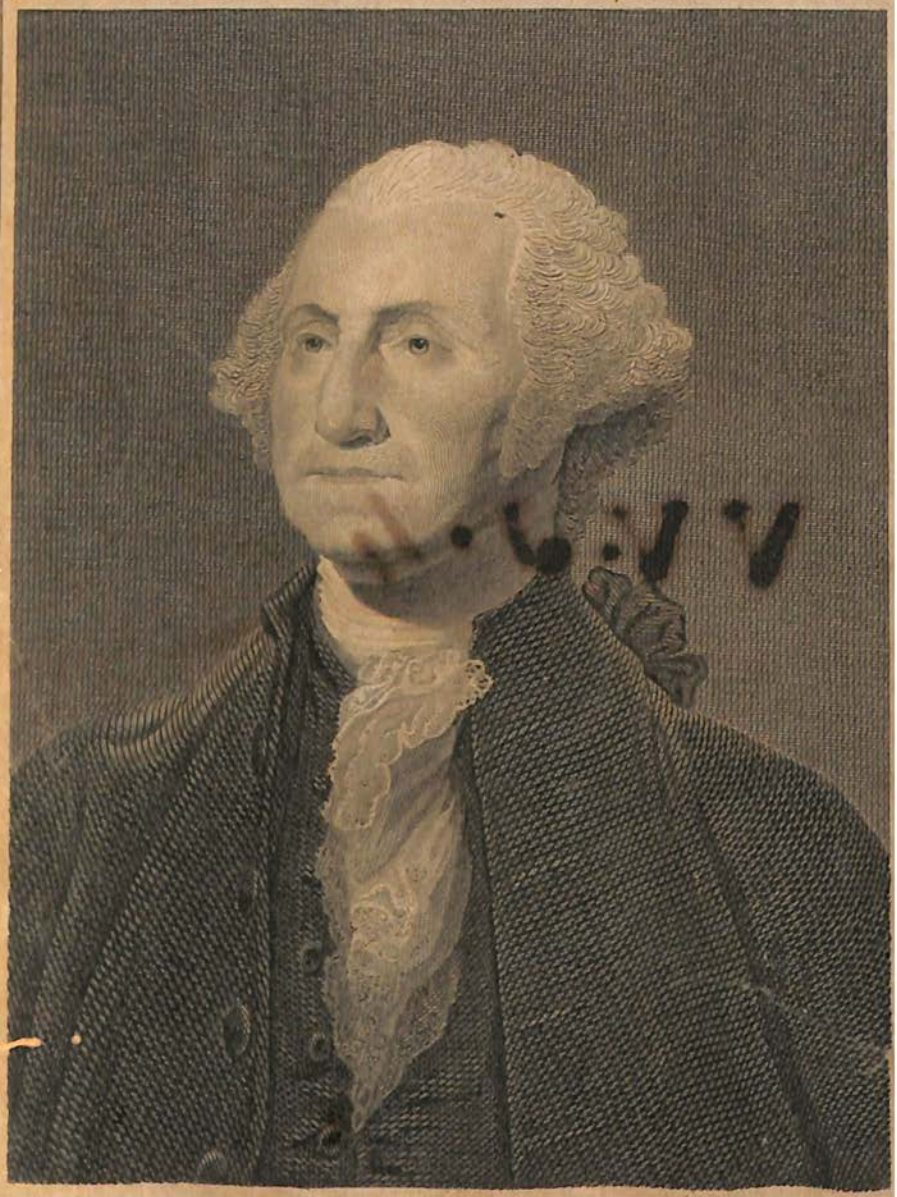

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
First President of the United States
of AMERICA.

Engraved by James Fittler A.R.A. from the original
Picture painted by G. Stuart in the possession of

1248

THE LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

OF THE

AMERICAN FORCES

DURING THE WAR WHICH ESTABLISHED THE INDEPENDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY,

AND FIRST PRESIDENT

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

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COMPILED UNDER THE INSPECTION OF

THE HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON,

From Original Papers bequeathed to him by his deceased Relative.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE COLONIES PLANTED BY THE ENGLISH ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JOHN MARSHALL,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES, &c. &c.

VOL. I.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE MOST NOBLE

WILLIAM

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWN.

MY LORD,

IN prefixing your Lordship's Name to an English edition of the Life of GENERAL WASHINGTON, I flatter myself that I shall not be considered, by the public, as having violated that sense of propriety by which all associations of eminent and illustrious names should be directed.

WASHINGTON, after a long series of the most glorious and patriotic services to his country, had the felicity of seeing her liberty and independence placed beyond the reach of fortuitous events, and only waiting the return of wise and enlightened counsels in her adversary, for their full recognition and peaceable enjoyment. For your Lordship was reserved the happiness of placing two great nations, formed to be durably connected by the bonds of reciprocal esteem and mutual interest, in the situation of friends, secured, by equality, from their former causes of dissention. Experience has abundantly proved the wisdom of such a liberal policy; and the benefits which have proceeded from the Peace which you gave to your suffering Country, cannot but have amply compensated, in your mind, for all the temporary obloquy which attended that necessary measure.

THE

THE GREAT MAN, whose life and actions are displayed in this work, not only rivalled the most successful commanders, in conducting to its desired termination a war begun with very defective means; but obtained the much rarer praise of averting the civil storms which threatened to disunite those whom danger had confederated, and of fixing upon the firm basis of the general good, a new constitution, which had no other support than public opinion. This he effected by that spirit of prudence and moderation which is so essential to the management of discordant interests; and, especially, by that inviolate integrity and pure patriotism, which gained him the entire confidence of his grateful countrymen. Certainly, no statesman, either in ancient or modern times, ever acquired more honourably, or exercised more faithfully, the power which his country put into his hands—or more nobly returned it into the source whence it sprung.

That accurate acquaintance with political history, which has always distinguished your Lordship, must have left you nothing to learn respecting every public transaction, civil and military, in which General WASHINGTON took a leading part. It may be presumed, however, that your Lordship will not be displeased with reviewing, in a clear and connected narrative, the eventful story of his actions, and with comparing them, in your own mind, with those of other great men, who have successively appeared on the stage of the world, and challenged the admiration of posterity. Of such characters, very few will probably be found, who can equally bear a close inspection, without any diminution of their fame. Indeed, the minuteness of a biographical record, like the present, is necessary for conveying an adequate idea of the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and of the peculiar merit of his public services.

The

The more particularly the state of America, before and after the accomplishment of the revolution, is considered, the more clearly it will be seen, that just such a man as WASHINGTON, in temper, principle, abilities, and reputation, was essentially requisite for performing the great task to which he was destined. More ardour of constitution, more vivacity of imagination, might only have tempted him to deviate from that path, in which unshaken firmness, calm perseverance, and vigilant caution, were the true conductors. The passionate love of glory, how much soever excused as "the infirmity of noble minds," might have led him into hazardous enterprizes, and have finally terminated in the vulgar ambition of acquiring uncontrolled power, and dazzling title. He became truly great by indifference to greatness; and best provided for the perpetuity of an honourable fame, by regarding fame as sub-

ordinate to duty. What a lesson to those in high stations, who have hearts and understandings to receive it!

The records of his private life will not afford less pleasure to those who love to contemplate virtue in its retreat, and to view the exertions of patriotism in the walks of humble utility.

Your Lordship has obtained just applause for that liberal patronage of science and literature, which befits a nobleman in a country far advanced in civilization. WASHINGTON perceived that the encouragement of agriculture, and the economical arts, was the proper business of an opulent American landholder; and that the example of a simple mode of life, was the most useful object of imitation he could present to his neighbours and countrymen. Probably, for a long series

of

of years, nothing will be so desirable to the Transatlantic Republic, as that its presidents and generals should be Cincinnati, returning to the plough, and keeping in due honour that state of mankind, which is always too soon exchanged for the polish and luxury of courts and capitals.

Your Lordship will pardon whatever of impropriety there may be in addressing to you these preliminary observations, on a character which you must have contemplated under all the lights in which it is important to view it. But it is difficult to speak at all of a person, the object of our esteem and veneration, without making a sketch of his portrait; and if the idea of it here given shall correspond with that already formed by your Lordship, such a coincidence will be the best proof of its justness.

In

In the hope that the work now offered to your Lordship's acceptance will entitle itself to your approbation,

I remain, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

And most humble Servant,

THE EDITOR.

London,
May 10, 1804.

PREFACE

PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

A DESIRE to know intimately those illustrious personages who have performed a conspicuous part on the great theatre of the world, is, perhaps, implanted in every human bosom. We delight to follow them through the various critical and perilous situations in which they have been placed, to view them in the extremes of adverse and prosperous fortune, to trace their progress through all the difficulties they have surmounted, and to contemplate their whole conduct at a time when the power and the pomp of office having disappeared, it may be presented to us in the simple garb of truth.

If among those exalted characters which are produced in every age, none can have a fairer

fairer claim to the attention and recollection of mankind, than those under whose auspices great empires have been founded, or political institutions deserving to be permanent, established; a faithful representation of the various important events connected with the life of the favourite Son of America, cannot be unworthy of the general regard: among his own countrymen it will unquestionably excite the deepest interest.

As if the chosen instrument of Heaven, selected for the purpose of effecting the great designs of Providence respecting this our western hemisphere, it was the peculiar lot of this distinguished man, at every epoch when the destinies of his country seemed dependent on the measures adopted, to be called by the united voice of his fellow-citizens to those high stations on which the success of those measures principally depended. It was his peculiar lot to be equally useful in obtaining the independence, and consolidating the civil institutions of his country. We perceive him at the head of her armies, during a most arduous and perilous war, on the events of which her national existence was staked, supporting

porting with invincible fortitude the unequal conflict. That war being happily terminated, and the political revolutions of America requiring that he should once more relinquish his beloved retirement, we find him guiding her councils with the same firmness, wisdom, and virtue, which had, long and successfully, been displayed in the field. We behold him her Chief Magistrate, at a time when her happiness, her liberty, perhaps her preservation depended on so administering the affairs of the Union, that a government standing entirely on the public favour, which had with infinite difficulty been adopted, and against which the most inveterate prejudices had been excited, should conciliate public opinion, and acquire a firmness and stability that would enable it to resist the rude shocks it was destined to sustain. It was too his peculiar fortune to afford the brightest examples of moderation and patriotism, by voluntarily divesting himself of the highest military and civil honours, when the public interests no longer demanded that he should retain them. We find him retiring from the head of a victorious army which adored him, as soon as the object for which arms

arms had been taken up was accomplished; and withdrawing from the highest office an American citizen can hold, as soon as his influence, his character, and his talents ceased to be necessary to the maintenance of that government which had been established under his auspices.

"He was, indeed, first in war,* first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

A faithful detail of the transactions of a person so prominently distinguished, will be looked for with avidity, and the author laments his inability to present to the public a work which may gratify the expectations that have been raised. In addition to that just diffidence of himself, which he very sincerely feels, two causes beyond his controul combine to excite this apprehension.

Accustomed to look in the page of history for incidents in themselves of great magni-

* The expressions of a resolution prepared by General Lee, and passed in the house of representatives of the United States, on their being informed of the death of General Washington.

tude;

tude; to find immense exertions attended with inconsiderable effects; and vast means employed in producing unimportant ends, we are in the habit of bestowing on the recital of military actions, a degree of consideration proportioned to the numbers engaged in them. When the struggle has terminated, and the agitations felt during its suspence have subsided, it is difficult to attach to enterprises in which small numbers have been concerned, that admiration which is often merited by the talents displayed in their execution, or that interest which belongs to the consequences that have arisen from them.

The long and distressing contest between Great Britain and these States did not abound in those great battles which are so frequent in the wars of Europe. Those who expect a continued succession of victories and defeats; who can only feel engaged in the movements of vast armies, and who believe that a hero must be perpetually in action, will be disappointed in almost every page of the following history. Seldom was the American Chief in a condition to indulge his native courage in those brilliant achievements to which he was

stimulated

stimulated by his own feelings, and a detail of which interests, enraptures, and astonishes the reader. Had he not often checked his natural disposition, had he not tempered his ardour with caution, the war he conducted would probably have been of short duration, and the United States would still have been colonies. At the head of troops, most of whom were perpetually raw, because they were perpetually changing; who were neither well fed, paid, clothed, nor armed; and who were generally inferior, even in numbers, to the enemy; he derives no small title to glory from the consideration that he never despaired of the public safety, that he was able at all times to preserve the appearance of an army, and that, in the most desperate situation of American affairs, he did not, for an instant, cease to be formidable. To estimate rightly his worth, we must contemplate his difficulties. We must examine the means placed in his hands, and the use he made of those means. To preserve an army when conquest was impossible, to avoid defeat and ruin when victory was unattainable, to keep his forces embodied, and suppress the discontents of his soldiers, exasperated by a long

long course of the most cruel privations, to seize with unerring discrimination the critical moment when vigorous offensive operations might be advantageously carried on, are actions not less valuable in themselves, nor do they require less capacity in the chief who performs them, than a continued succession of battles. But they spread less splendor over the page which recounts them, and excite weaker emotions in the bosom of the reader.

There is also another source from which some degree of disappointment has been anticipated. It is the impossibility of giving to the public, in the first part of this work, many facts not already in their possession.

The American war was a subject of too much importance to have remained thus long unnoticed by the literary world. Almost every event worthy of attention, which occurred during its progress, has been gleaned up and detailed. Not only the public, but much of the private correspondence of the Commander in Chief has been inspected, and permission given to extract from it whatever might properly be communicated. In the military part

of this history, therefore, the author can promise not much that is new. He can only engage for the correctness with which facts are stated, and for the diligence with which his researches have been made.

The letters to and from the Commander in Chief during the war were very numerous, and have been carefully preserved. The whole of this immensely voluminous correspondence has, with infinite labour, been examined; and the work now offered to the public is principally compiled from it. The facts which occurred on the continent are generally supported by these letters, and it has therefore been deemed unnecessary to multiply references to them. But there are many facts so connected with those events in which the General performed a principal part, that they ought not to be omitted, and respecting which his correspondence cannot be expected to furnish satisfactory information. Such facts have been taken from the histories of the day, and the authority relied on for the establishment of their verity has been cited. Various publications have, for this purpose, been occasionally resorted

resorted to, and are quoted for all those facts which are detailed in part on their authority. Their very language has sometimes been employed without distinguishing the passages, especially when intermingled with others, by marks of quotation; but, in such instances, the book is cited in the margin: and the author persuades himself that this public declaration will rescue him from the imputation of receiving aids he is unwilling to acknowledge, or of wishing, by a concealed plagiarism, to usher to the world as his own, the labours of others.

In selecting the materials for the succeeding volumes, it was deemed proper to present to the public as much as possible of General Washington himself. Prominent as he must be in any history of the American war, there appeared to be a peculiar fitness in rendering him still more so in one which professes to give a particular account of his own life. His private opinions therefore, his various plans, even those which were never carried into execution, his individual exertions to prevent and correct the multiplied errors committed by inexperience, are given in more minute detail; and more copious extracts from his letters are

taken, than would comport with the plan of a more general work. Many events too are unnoticed, which, in such a composition, would be worthy of being introduced, and much useful information has not been sought for, which a professed history of America ought to comprise. Yet the history of General Washington, during his military command and civil administration, is so much that of his country, that the work appeared to the author to be most sensibly incomplete and unsatisfactory, while unaccompanied by such a narrative of the principal events preceding our revolutionary war, as would make the reader acquainted with the genius, character, and resources of the people about to engage in that memorable contest. This appeared the more necessary, as that period of our history is but little known to ourselves. Several writers have detailed very minutely thea ffairs of a particular colony, but the *desideratum* is a composition which shall present, in one connected view, the transactions of all those colonies which now form the United States.

The materials for the complete execution of such a work are perhaps not to be found in America;

America; and, if they do exist, their collection would require a length of time, and a labour of research, which neither the impatience of the public, nor the situation of the author, would enable him to bestow on the subject. Yet he thought it more eligible to digest, into one volume, the most material of those facts, which are now scattered through several books, than to commence his history abruptly with the war between Great Britain and her colonies.

The difficulties attending even such an undertaking as this, were soon perceived to be greater than had been expected. In several of the English colonies, either no accounts whatever, or such vague accounts of their transactions have been given, that long intervals of time pass away without furnishing a single document relative to their affairs. In others, very circumstantial details of their original settlements have been published, but the relation stops at an early period. In New England alone has the history of any colony been continued to the war of our independence. Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Minot, have faithfully transmitted to those who succeed

ceed them, the events which occurred in New Hampshire and Massachussetts. Mr. Trumbull is engaged in a similar undertaking for Connecticut, but has not yet advanced far in its execution. In New York, Mr. Smith has made a valuable commencement; and, in Virginia, Mr. Stith and Mr. Beverly have detailed, at great length, the hardships of the original settlers; but, in the other colonies, until we reach South Carolina and Georgia, scarcely an attempt has been made at a history of any sort. To the reign of William and Mary, Mr. Chalmer has furnished almost all the facts which the historian of the United States would require. It is much to be regretted, that he has not prosecuted his very valuable work according to his original design. So far as it has been executed, it contains internal evidence of the means he possesses for its completion: means unattainable by any inhabitant of the United States. The author has made free use of the materials he has furnished, as well as of those collected by Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Minot, Mr. Smith, and the historian of South Carolina and Georgia. He has also made large extracts from the two chapters

ters written by Mr. Robertson, and published since his decease. Had that gentleman lived to finish the work he began, an elegant and valuable history of our country would have been in possession of the public, and the author of the following sheets would have deemed it unnecessary to have introduced the Life of General Washington with any narration of events preceding the time when that great man appeared on the theatre of action. But we have received from Mr. Robertson only an account of the settlement of the two eldest colonies, and therefore the necessity of prefixing to this work some essay, though a crude one, towards a general history of the English settlements on this continent still remained.

If Mr. Chalmer, or any other person, shall complete the publication of that collection of facts which he has so successfully commenced, and intelligent individuals of other states could be induced to follow the example set them by Mr. Belknap, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Minot, and Mr. Trumbull, a fund of information would then be collected, from which a correct and valuable history of the now United States

might readily be compiled. Till one or both of these events occur, such a history is not to be expected. The author is by no means insensible of the insufficiency of that which is now presented to the public; but the Life of General Washington required some previous general knowledge of American affairs, and he thought it more adviseable to accompany that work with even the imperfect sketch of our history which he has been enabled to draw, than to give it publicity, unconnected with any narrative whatever of preceding events.

In executing the determination produced by this opinon, he soon perceived, that though human nature is always the same, and consequently man will, in every situation, furnish useful lessons to the discerning politician, yet few would be willing to employ much time in searching for them through the minute details of the sufferings of an infant people, spreading themselves through a wilderness preoccupied only by savages and wild beasts. These details can interest themselves alone, and only the desire of knowing the situation of our own country, in every stage of its existence, can stamp a value

value on the page which contains them. He has, therefore, omitted entirely many transactions deemed of great moment while passing, and yet he is more apprehensive of having overcharged his narrative with facts not of sufficient importance to be preserved, than of having contracted it too much.

For any inattention to composition an apology ought never to be necessary. A work of any importance ought never to be submitted to the public till it has been sufficiently revised and corrected. Yet the first part of the Life of General Washington goes into the world under circumstances which might bespeak, from candour, less severity of criticism than it will probably experience. The papers from which it has been compiled have been already stated to be immensely voluminous, and the public was already looking for the work before the writer was fixed on, and the documents from which it was to be composed placed in his hands. The impatience since discovered, by many of the subscribers, has carried the following sheets to the press much more precipitately than the judgment of the author would have

have permitted him to part with them, and he cannot flatter himself that they are free from many defects which, on a reperusal, will attract even his own observation.

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THE

LIFE

OF

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

Commission of Cabot—His voyage to America—Claims of the French to the discovery of North America—All further views of discovery or settlement relinquished by Henry VII.—Renewed by Elizabeth—Letters patent granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert—His voyages and death—Letters patent granted to Sir Walter Raleigh—Voyage of Sir Richard Greenville—Colonists carried back to England by Drake—Greenville arrives with other colonists—They are left on the island, and destroyed by the Indians—Arrival of White—White dispatched to England for succour—Raleigh assigns his patent to Sir Thomas Smith and Co.—Patent to Sir Thomas Gages and others—Code of laws drawn up for the proposed colony by King James.

THE discovery of America by Columbus, gave a new impulse, and in some degree a new direction, to that bold spirit of adventure which characterized the hardy age in which he lived.

The accounts given by that daring and skilful navigator of the countries he had visited, and the still more flattering reports respecting them which were circulated by the companions of his voyage; while they made their deepest impression on Spain, inspired very generally throughout Europe the desire of sharing with that nation, the glory, the wealth, and the dominion, to be acquired in the new world.

To accident the English historians attribute the failure of their sovereign to engage originally in his service this distinguished man. While Christopher Columbus proceeded to solicit, in person, at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, those aids which were indispensably necessary to the prosecution of the grand schemes he had projected, his brother Bartholomew was dispatched to Henry VII. of England, for the purpose of engaging that cautious but sagacious monarch to protect his enterprise.

On his passage, Bartholomew was unfortunately captured by pirates. After a long detention, he at length reached England, where his propositions were so favourably received by the sovereign of that nation, as to have excited the opinion, that he would probably have acquired to himself and his country the honour and advantage of having first patronized this ever memorable voyage, had not the delays experienced by Bartholomew suspended

the

the decision of Henry, until America was discovered under the auspices of Spain.

The impression, however, which he had received, prepared him in some measure for the important discoveries which were made, and inclined him to countenance the propositions which, soon after the return of Columbus, were made by his own subjects for engaging in adventures similar to that which had already been so successful.

But England, whose ships now cover every ocean, and whose fleets triumph in every sea, did not then furnish a single individual well enough acquainted with navigation, to be trusted with the direction of such an expedition. The chief command of the armament destined to explore these unknown regions was given to Giovanni Gaboto (John Cabot) a Venetian adventurer, who had settled in Bristol. To him and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, a commission was issued on the 5th of March 1496, less than two years after the return of Columbus from America, empowering them or either of them, and their or each of their heirs and deputies, to sail under the banner of England, towards the East, North, or West, in order to discover countries then unknown to all christian people. The terms of this commission very strongly marked the genius and character of the monarch who gave it. It empowered the Cabots to take possession of the

countries they should discover in the name of the king of England, and to carry on an exclusive trade with the inhabitants; but the discoveries were to be made at their own expence, and their commerce was charged with a fifth part of the clear profit on every voyage, payable to the crown.

The expedition contemplated at the date of this commission, appears not then to have been made; but in May 1498, Cabot with his second son Sebastian embarked at Bristol, on board a ship furnished by the king, which was accompanied by four barks fitted out by merchants of that city.

The opinion of Columbus, that a shorter passage to the East Indies was to be opened by holding a western course, and that the islands he had discovered were contiguous to the great continent of India, was then generally received. Cabot therefore, who was in quest, not so much of establishments as of the rich commerce of the East, deemed it probable that by steering to the northwest he might reach India by a shorter course than that which Columbus had taken. After sailing for some weeks due west, he discovered a large island which was called by him *Prima Vista*, and by his sailors, *Newfoundland*; and in a few days he descried a smaller isle, to which he gave the name of St. John. Continuing his course westward, he soon reached the continent of North America,

America, and sailed along it from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, from the coast of Labrador to that of Virginia. He was not a little chagrined at being unable further to prosecute his commercial views, and to discover some inlet which might open a passage to the west. It does not appear that he landed any where during this extensive run; and he returned to England without attempting either settlement or conquest.*

Thus, according to the English historians, was first discovered that immense continent which stretches from the gulph of Mexico to the north pole; and as far back as to this discovery the English traced their title to the country they afterwards acquired, partly by settlement and partly by arms.

The French, who have since contested with Great Britain the possession of a very considerable portion of this important territory, have also their claims to its discovery, although they seem not to be very well founded.

L'Escarbot, who visited America in 1606, avers that the language then spoken on the eastern parts of the coast of Newfoundland and the great bank was half Biscayan; from which fact it was very

* Chalmer. Robinson.

correctly inferred, that the fishermen from the western coasts of France had, for a long time, navigated those seas.

As no certain account had been preserved of the first enterprise made by those people, it was argued that they must have been in the habit of undertaking them before that voyage by Sebastian Cabot in 1498. With equal probability might a date be given them anterior to that of Columbus. However insufficient this evidence may be deemed to support the claim of original discovery, it seems very well authenticated, that as early as 1504 the Biscayans, the Britons, and the Normans, frequented, for the purpose of fishing, the great bank of Newfoundland, the coasts of the adjacent continent, and the whole gulph of St. Lawrence. That in 1506 a map of those coasts was published by Jean Denis de Honfleur, and that in the year 1508 a Canadian was brought into France by a pilot from Dieppe.

The ardour for discovery which had been excited in the bosom of Henry seems to have expired with this first effort. Although the success of Cabot in this respect must have equalled any expectation which could have been formed from the expedition, yet, on his return to England, he found Henry entirely disinclined to prosecute further a scheme in which he had engaged with some degree

degree of zeal, and of which the commencement had been attended with appearances by no means discouraging.

Several causes are supposed to have contributed to this abandonment of the prosecution of all further pursuits in America. Previous to the discovery of that country by Columbus, the Portuguese had explored the Azores or Western Islands, in consequence of which they claimed America, and contended for the exclusion of the Spaniards from the Western Ocean. This controversy was decided by the pope, who, on the 7th of May 1493, out of his own "mere liberality and certain knowledge, and the plenitude of apostolic authority," granted to Spain the countries discovered, or to be discovered by her to the westward of a line to be drawn from pole to pole an hundred leagues west of the Azores; (excepting such countries as might be in the possession of any other christian prince antecedent to the year 1493), and to Portugal her discoveries to the eastward of that boundary.

Much respect was at that period paid to this decision and grant of the pope. Its sanctity however was most probably, in the opinion of Henry, considerably increased by his particular situation. He set a high value on the friendship of the king of Spain, and was then actually negociating with him the marriage, which afterwards took place,

between his eldest son and the princess Catherine, daughter of that monarch. Ferdinand was jealous to excess of all his rights, and Henry was not inclined to interrupt the harmony subsisting between them, by asserting claims to the countries discovered by Cabot which were obviously within the limits to which the pretensions of Spain extended. In addition to this consideration, the state of his own kingdom restrained this cautious prince from engaging further in distant enterprises of uncertain profit, which might require expence and attention.

Sebastian Cabot, finding no encouragement for his active talents in England, entered into the service of Spain.

Although the idea of making settlements in America, if ever seriously adopted, was, for the time, abandoned; the discovery of a shorter passage to the East Indies, by the north-west, continued to be the favourite project of the English nation. To effect it, several unsuccessful expeditions were made to the American coast. In the mean time the fisheries of Newfoundland were carried on to a considerable extent by individuals of England, France, and other European nations, whose views seem to have extended no further than to the fish they took, and to a paltry traffic with the natives.

No serious or permanent plans for acquiring territory

territory and planting colonies in America were formed until the reign of Elizabeth.

The knowledge of the Spanish language and history, which had become fashionable during the reign of Philip and Mary among persons of fortune and education, the immense wealth derived from South America, the power of Spain in Europe, which was in a considerable degree attributed to that wealth, had turned the attention of both the sovereign and the nation towards the new world.

A plan for making permanent settlements in those parts of America which, heretofore, the English had only visited, was now projected and patronized by persons of rank and influence. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, of Compton, in Devonshire, who had early rendered himself conspicuous by his military services both in France and Ireland, and afterwards by a treatise concerning the north-west passage, in which great ingenuity and learning were mingled, according to Mr. Robinson, with the enthusiasm, the credulity, and sanguine expectation which incite men to new and hazardous undertakings, was deemed a proper person to be employed in establishing the colony now contemplated; and on the 11th of June 1578, he obtained letters patent from the queen, vesting in him such powers as were thought sufficient for the purpose.

This is the first charter to a colony granted by the

the crown of England. Its articles merit particular attention, as they unfold the ideas of that age with respect to the nature of such settlements.

Elizabeth authorizes Sir Gilbert and his heirs and assigns to discover and take possession of such remote heathen and barbarous lands, as were not actually possessed by any christian prince or people. She vests in him his heirs and assigns for ever the lands so to be discovered, and possessed with the rights, royalties, and jurisdiction, as well marine as other, within the said lands and countries; and the seas thereunto adjoining; with full power to dispose thereof to her majesty's subjects, in fee simple or otherwise, according to the laws of England, as nearly as conveniently might be; paying to the queen her heirs and successors, for all services, duties, and demands whatever, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, which should at any time there be obtained; holding all the said lands of her majesty, her heirs and successors, by homage, and by payment of the fifth part before reserved. She grants him licence to expel all persons who, without his special permission, should attempt to inhabit the said countries, or within two hundred leagues of the place where he, his heirs, or assigns, should within six years ensuing; make their settlement; and she empowers him to capture by all means whatever, all persons with their vessels and goods, who should be

be found trading within the limits aforesaid, without his licence. She declares that the countries so to be discovered and possessed, should thenceforward be under the allegiance and protection of the crown of England, and the persons to inhabit them, should enjoy the privileges of free denizens or natives of England. She further grants to Sir Humphrey, his heirs and assigns for ever, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, all such her subjects or others as should inhabit the said countries; with power to constitute such statutes, laws, and ordinances, as should by him his heirs or assigns be devised or established, for the better government of the people: "Provided always that they should be, as near as conveniently might, agreeable to the laws and policy of England; and provided also, that they be not against the true christian faith, professed in the church of England, nor any way tend to withdraw the subjects or people of those lands or places, from the allegiance of the queen, her heirs or successors."* Furnished with these ample powers, Gilbert and the associates of his voyage embarked for America. But his success by no means equalled his expectations. The variety of difficulties inseparable from the settlement of a distant, unexplored country, inhabited only

* Robinson.

by

by savages; the scanty and inadequate supplies for a colony, which could be furnished by the funds of a private man; the misfortune of having approached the continent too far towards the north, where the cold barren coast of Cape Breton was rather calculated to repel than invite a settlement; have been assigned as the probable causes of his failure.

Two expeditions, conducted by this gentleman, ended disastrously. In the last he himself perished, having done nothing further in the execution of his patent, than taking possession of the island of Newfoundland in the name of Elizabeth, and in the presence of several fishermen and merchants from different nations in Europe, who were convened to attend the solemnity.

Sir Walter Raleigh, so greatly distinguished by his genius, his courage, and his unmerited fate, had been deeply interested in the adventures in which his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, wasted his fortune, and was not deterred by their ill success, or the difficulties attending such an enterprise, from prosecuting with vigour, a plan so well calculated to captivate his bold and romantic temper.

On the 26th of March 1584, he obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent similar to that which had been granted to Gilbert, and on the 27th of April he dispatched two small vessels under the command

command of Captains Amidas and Barlow, for the purpose of visiting the countries he intended to settle, and of acquiring some previous knowledge of those circumstances which might be essential to the welfare of the colony he was about to plant. To avoid the error of Gilbert in holding too far north, they took the route by the Canaries and the West India islands, and approached the North American continent towards the gulph of Florida. On the 2d of July, they touched at an island situate on the inlet into Pamplicoe Sound,* about fifteen miles in length and six in breadth, which they called Wokocon (probably Ocakoke), where they were surprised and delighted with the immense number of grapes, the clusters of which covered alike the smallest shrubs and the tallest trees. From thence they proceeded to Roanoke, near the mouth of Albemarle Sound. At both places they carried on a profitable traffic with the natives, who manifested neither fear, nor a disposition towards acts of hostility, received them with great hospitality, and displayed much willingness to exchange their rude productions for the commodities of the English, especially their iron and other useful metals.

Having spent some weeks in this traffic, and collected from the Indians some confused accounts

* In the state of North Carolina.

respecting

respecting the neighbouring continent, they took with them two of the natives, who willingly accompanied them, and embarked for England, where they arrived the 15th of September. The splendid descriptions which they gave of the soil, the climate, and the productions of the country they had visited, so pleased Elizabeth, that, flattered with the idea of possessing a territory abounding with such advantages, she bestowed on it the name of Virginia, as a memorial that it had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen. *

Their report encouraged Raleigh to hasten his preparations for taking possession of such an inviting property. Early in the spring of 1585 he fitted out seven small ships, well laden with arms, ammunition, provisions, and passengers for a settlement. The command of this squadron was given to Sir Richard Greenville, his relation, who was interested with him in the patent obtained from Elizabeth, and who, even in that gallant age, was conspicuous for his courage. He sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of April. Having taken the southern route, and wasted some time in cruising against the Spaniards, he did not reach the coast of North America until the close of the month of June. He touched at both the islands

* Stith. Robins. Chal.

where

where Amidas and Barlow had landed, made some excursions into different parts of the continent around Pamplicoe and Albemarle Sounds, but unfortunately did not advance so far towards the north, as to discover the bay of Chessapeake.

He established a colony, consisting of one hundred and eight persons, in the island of Roanoke, an incommodious station without any safe harbour. Having committed the government of it to Mr. Ralph Lane, he on the 25th of August set sail for England.

The chief as well as most beneficial employment of the colonists, next to providing the means of future subsistence, should have been to obtain a more accurate knowledge of the adjacent country. To this they were not entirely inattentive, and their enquiries were by no means unsuccessful. But the first and darling pursuit of all Europeans in America was gold. To this their researches were, principally, directed; and to its attainment were applied the utmost energies of which they were capable. The English flattered themselves that the country they had discovered could not be destitute of those mines of precious metals with which Spanish America abounded. The Indians soon discerned the object for which they searched with so much avidity, and amused them with tales of rich mines in countries they had not yet explored. Deceived by this misinformation,

formation, they encountered incredible hardships, and mis-spent, in search of what happily did not exist, that time which ought to have been employed in providing the means for their future subsistence. Mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the natives, which had been easily generated, began to show themselves in open hostility; and, the provisions brought from England being exhausted, they were under the necessity of resorting for food to the precarious supplies afforded by the rivers and woods. In this state of distress they were, on the 1st of June 1586, found by Sir Francis Drake, who was then returning from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. He agreed to supply them with about a hundred men, four months provision, and a small vessel; but before she could be placed in a state of security, this scheme was defeated by a sudden and violent storm, which forced out to sea, among many other ships, that which had on board the men and provisions destined for the colony. Discouraged by this misfortune, and worn out with fatigue and famine, they unanimously determined to abandon the country; and at their own request were taken on board the fleet, which on the 19th of June sailed for England.

Thus terminated the first English colony planted in America. The only acquisition made by this expensive

expensive experiment was a better knowledge of the country and its inhabitants.

A few days after the departure of Drake, with Lane and his associates, from Roanoke, a small vessel which had been dispatched by Raleigh with a supply of provisions, reached its place of destination. Not finding the colonists on the spot where they had settled, this vessel returned to England. Soon after its departure, Sir Richard Greenville arrived with three ships and ample supplies. Having searched in vain for the colony he had left, and being totally unable to conjecture their fate, he placed, some authors say fifty, others fifteen men, in the island with provisions for two years, for the purpose of retaining possession of the country, and set sail for England. This small party was soon destroyed by the Indians.

In the following year, 1587, Raleigh, who was neither discouraged nor wearied out by the ill success which had hitherto attended all his efforts to make a settlement in America, fitted out three ships, under the command of Captain John White, and, as some authors say, directed the colony to be removed to the waters of the Chessapeake, which bay had been discovered by Lane in the preceding year. Instructed by the calamities already experienced, more efficacious means for preserving and continuing the colony than had heretofore been used, were now adopted. The num-

ber of men was greater; some women accompanied them; and their supply of provisions was more abundant. Mr. White was appointed their governor, and twelve assistants were assigned him as a council. A charter was granted them, incorporating them by the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia.

Thus prepared for a permanent settlement, they arrived in the latter end of July at Roanoke, where they received the melancholy intelligence of the loss of their countrymen who had been left there by Sir Richard Greenville. They determined, however, to remain at the same place; and immediately began to repair the houses, and to make the necessary preparations for their accommodation and comfort. They endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the natives, one of whom, who had accompanied Amidas and Barlow to England, and who had distinguished himself by his unshaken attachment to the English, was christened and styled Lord of *Dassa Monpeake*, an Indian nation in the neighbourhood.

About the same time was added to the colony the first child of English parentage ever born in America. She was the daughter of *Ananias Dare*, and, in token of the place of her birth, was named Virginia.*

* Stith's Hist. Virg.

On

On viewing the country, and their own actual situation, the colonists found themselves destitute of many things deemed essential to the preservation and comfortable subsistence of a new settlement, in a country covered with forests, and inhabited only by a few scattered tribes of savages. With one voice they deputed their governor to solicit those specific aids which their situation particularly and essentially required. On his arrival in England, he found the whole nation alarmed at the formidable preparations made by Philip the Second of Spain for their invasion, and Raleigh, Greenville, and the other patrons of the colony, particularly and ardently engaged in those measures of defence which the public danger called for, and rendered indispensable. Raleigh, however, mingled with his exertions to defend his native country, some attention to the situation of the colony he had planted. Early in the year 1588, he found leisure to fit out for its relief, at Biddeford, a small fleet, the command of which was given to Sir Richard Greenville; but the apprehensions from the Spanish armament, proudly and confidently styled by their monarch the Invincible Armada, still encreasing, the ships of force prepared by Raleigh were detained in port, by order of the queen, for the defence of their own country, and Sir Richard Greenville was specially and personally commanded not to depart

out of Cornwall, where his services under Sir Walter Raleigh, who was mustering and training the forces as lieutenant of the county, were deemed necessary. On the 22d of April, White put to sea with two small barks; but these vessels being unfortunately more desirous of making prizes than of relieving their distressed countrymen, were beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from prosecuting their voyage.

Soon after this, in March 1589, the attention of Raleigh being directed to other more splendid objects, he assigned his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London.

It was not till the year after this transfer, 1590, that any other effort was made for the relief of the colony. Three ships fitted out by the company, and having Mr. White on board, sailed in March from Plymouth; but having cruelly and criminally wasted their time in plundering the Spaniards in the West Indies, they did not reach Hatteras till the month of August. They fired a gun to give notice of their arrival, and sent some men on shore at the place where the colony had been left three years before; but no sign of their countrymen could be found. In attempting the next day to go to the Roanoke, one of the boats, in passing a bar, was half filled with water, another overset, and six men were drowned. Two other boats, however, were some time afterwards

fitted

fitted out with nineteen men to search the island on which the colony had been left. At the departure of Mr. White they had contemplated removing about fifty miles up into the main; and it had been agreed that, if they left their then position, they would carve the name of the place to which they should remove, on some tree, door, or post, with the addition of a cross over it, as a signal of distress, if they should be really distressed at the time of changing their situation. After considerable search, the word CROATAN was found carved, in fair capital letters, on one of the chief posts, but unaccompanied by the sign of distress which had been agreed on.*

Croatan was the name of an Indian town on the north side of Cape *Look Out*, and for that place the fleet weighed anchor the next day. Meeting with a storm, and several accidents which discouraged them from proceeding on the voyage, they determined to give over further search for the present, and to return to the West Indies.

The company made no other attempt to find this lost colony; nor has the time, or the manner of their perishing, ever been discovered.

If any subsequent voyages were made by the English to North America, they were for the mere purposes of traffic, and were entirely unimportant

* Rob. Stith. Chal. Bev.

in their consequences, until the year 1602, when one was undertaken by Bartholomew Gosnald, which contributed greatly to revive in the nation the hitherto unsuccessful, and then dormant, spirit of colonizing in the new world.*

He sailed from Falmouth in a small bark with thirty-two men, and avoiding the usual, but circuitous course by the West Indies, steered as nearly west as the winds would permit, and reached the American continent on the 11th of May in nearly forty-three degrees of north latitude. Here some Indians in a shallop, with a mast and sails (supposed to have been obtained from Biscayan fishermen), came fearlessly on board them.

Finding no good harbour at this place, Gosnald put to sea again, and stood to the southward. The next morning he descried a promontory which he called Cape Cod, and holding his course along the coast as it stretched to the south-west, he touched at two islands, the first of which he named Martha's Vineyard, and the second Elizabeth's Island. Having passed some time at these places, examining the country, and trading with the natives, he returned to England.

This voyage, which was completed in less than four months, was attended with important consequences. Gosnald had found a healthy climate,

* Rob. Chal.

a rich

a rich soil, good harbours, and a route which greatly shortened the distance to the continent of North America. He had seen many of the fruits known and prized in Europe, blooming in the woods; and he had planted European grain, which he found to grow rapidly. Encouraged by these experiments, and delighted with the country he had visited, he quickly formed the resolution of transporting thither a colony, and of uniting with himself, in the execution of this design, others who might be enabled to support it. So unfortunate, however, had been former attempts of this sort, that men of wealth and rank, although the report of Gosnald made considerable impression on them, were slow in giving full faith to his representations, and in entering completely into his plans. One vessel was fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and another by the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Warder, in order to learn whether Gosnald's account of the country was to be considered as a just representation of its state, or as the exaggerated description of a person fond of magnifying his own discoveries. Both returned with a full confirmation of his veracity, and with the addition of so many new circumstances in favour of the country, acquired by a more extensive view of it, as greatly increased the desire of planting it. The merchants of London, too, fitted out a vessel, which is sup-

posed to have entered the bay of Chessapeake, but to have returned without having penetrated into and explored the country.

The English historians say that Richard Hackluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of distinguished learning and intelligence, contributed more than any other, by his able and judicious exertions, to form an association sufficiently extensive, influential, and wealthy, to execute the so often renewed, and so often disappointed, project of establishing colonies in America.

At length such an association was formed; and a petition was presented to James the First, who, on the death of Elizabeth, had succeeded to the crown of England, praying the sanction of the royal authority to the execution of the plan they proposed. Greatly pleased with it, he commended, and immediately acceded to the wishes of its projectors.

On the 10th of April 1606, letters patent were issued, under the great seal of England, to the petitioners Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea coast, between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and which either belonged to that monarch, or were not then possessed by any other christian prince or people; and also the islands adjacent thereto, or within one hundred miles thereof. They were divided,

at

at their own desire, into two several companies; one, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London, and elsewhere, was called the first colony, and was required to settle between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of latitude; the other, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and elsewhere, was named the second colony, and was ordered to settle between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude:—yet so that the colony last formed, should not be planted within one hundred miles of the prior establishment.

The adventurers were empowered to transport thither so many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, with provisions and arms, and without paying customs for seven years. The colonists and their childern were at all times to enjoy the same liberties, within any other dominions of the crown of England, as if they had remained, or were born within the realm.

For their better government, there was established, for each of the projected settlements, a council consisting of thirteen, to be appointed and removed by the royal instructions, who were empowered to govern the colonies according to such laws as should be given under the sign manual and privy seal of England. Two other boards were formed

formed in England, which were, in like manner, to consist of thirteen persons to be appointed by the king, and who were invested with the superior direction of the affairs of the colonies.

The adventurers were allowed to search for and open mines of gold, silver, and copper, yielding one-fifth of the two former metals, and one-fifteenth of the latter, to the king; and to make a coin which should be current as well among the colonists as the natives.

The president and council, within the colonies, were authorized to repel those who should, without their authority, attempt to settle or trade within their jurisdiction, and to seize and detain their persons and effects, till they should pay a duty of two and one-half per centum ad valorem, if subjects; but of five per centum, if aliens.

These taxes were to be applied, for twenty-one years, to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.

While the council for the patentees were employed in making preparations to secure the benefits of their grant, James was no less assiduously engaged in the new, and to his vanity the flattering task of framing a code of laws for the government of the colonies about to be planted. Having at length prepared it, the code was issued under the sign manual and privy seal of England on the 20th of November 1606. He invested, by these regulations,

regulations, the general superintendence of the colonies in a council in England, "composed of a few persons of consideration and talents." He ordered that the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the church of England. Both the legislative and executive powers, within the colonies, were vested in the presidents and councils. To their legislative power, however, was annexed a proviso, that their ordinances should not touch any man's life or member, should only continue in force till made void by the king or his council in England for Virginia, and should be, in substance, consonant to the laws of England. He also injoined them to permit none to withdraw the people from their allegiance to himself and his successors, and to cause all persons so offending to be apprehended and imprisoned till reformation; or, in cases highly offensive, to be sent to England to receive punishment. And no person should be permitted to remain in the colony without taking the oath of obedience. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion; murder and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these offences the criminal was to be tried by a jury. Inferior crimes were to be punished in a summary way, at the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden within the colony as the same estates were enjoyed in England. Kindness towards the heathen

heathen was enjoined; and a power reserved to the king and his successors to ordain further laws, so that they were consonant to the jurisprudence of England.

Under this charter and these laws, which manifest, at the same time, a total disregard of all political liberty, and a total ignorance of the real advantages which may be drawn from colonies by a parent state; which vest the higher powers of legislation in persons residing out of the country, unchosen by the people, and unaffected by the laws they make, while commerce remains unconfined; the patentees proceeded to execute the arduous, and almost untried task, of peopling a strange, distant, and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by a few savages, easily irritated; and, when irritated, more fierce than the beasts they hunted.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Voyage of Newport—Colony settled at James-town—Distress of the colonists—Influence and activity of Smith—He is captured by the Indians—Condemned to death by Powhatan—Saved by Pocahontas—Return to James-town—Newport arrives with an additional supply of settlers—Smith explores the Chesapeake—Is chosen president—New charter—Captain Argal seizes Pocahontas—She marries Mr. Rolfe—Separate property in lands and labour in some degree established—Expedition of Captain Argal against the French colony at Port Royal—against the Dutch at Manhadoes—Fifty acres of land laid off for each settler—Tobacco—Sir Thomas Dale—Mr. Yeardley—First colonial assembly—First arrival of females in the colony—and of convicts—First importation of African slaves—Two councils established—Prosperity of the colony—Attempt of the Indians to massacre all the whites—General war—Dissension and dissolution of the company—Colony taken into the hands of the king—Arbitrary measures of the crown—Sir John Harvey—Sir William Berkeley—Provincial assembly restored—Virginia declares in favour of Charles II.—Grant to Lord Baltimore—Arrival of a colony in Maryland

Maryland under Calvert—Assembly composed of all freemen—Clayborne—Assembly composed of representatives—Divided in two branches—Tyrannical proceedings.

ALTHOUGH several men of rank and fortune were concerned in the companies which had been formed in England for colonizing America, their funds appear to have been very limited, and their first efforts were certainly extremely feeble.

The first expedition of the southern colony consisted of one vessel of a hundred tons, and two barks, with a hundred and five men destined to remain in the country.

The command of this small embarkation was given to Captain Newport, who sailed therewith from the Thames the 19th of December 1606. At the same time that his instructions were received, three packets, sealed with the seal of the council, were delivered, one to Captain Newport, a second to Captain Bartholomew Gosnald, and a third to Captain John Radcliffe, containing the names of the council for the colony. These packets were accompanied with instructions directing that they should be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, and not before; and that the names of his majesty's council should then be proclaimed. The

council

council were then to proceed to the choice of a president, who should have two votes. To this singular and unaccountable concealment have been, in a great degree, attributed the dissensions which distracted the colonists on their passage, and which afterwards considerably impeded the progress of their infant settlement.

Newport, whose place of destination was Roanoke, took the circuitous route by the West India islands, and had a long passage of four months. The reckoning had been out for three days, without perceiving land, and serious propositions were made for returning to England, when they were overtaken by a storm which fortunately drove them to the mouth of the Chessapeake.

On the 26th of April 1607, they descried Cape Henry, and soon afterwards Cape Charles. Impatient to land, a party of about thirty men went on shore at Cape Henry; but they were immediately attacked by the natives who considered them as enemies, and in the skirmish which ensued several were wounded on both sides.

The first employment of the colonists was to explore the adjacent country, with the appearance of which they were greatly delighted, and to select a spot on which their settlement should be made. They proceeded up a large beautiful river called by the natives Powhatan, and to which they gave

gave the name of James, on a peninsula on the north side of which they unanimously agreed to make the first establishment of their infant colony. This place, as well as the river, they named after their king, and called it James-town.

Here they debarked on the 13th of May, and the sealed packets delivered to them in England being opened, Mr. Wingfield was, by the council, elected their president; but under frivolous and unjustifiable pretexts, they excluded from his seat among them John Smith, whose courage and talents seemed to have excited their envy, and who on the passage had been imprisoned on the improbable and unsupported charge of intending to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia.

The colonists soon found themselves embroiled with the Indians, who attacked them suddenly while at work, but were frightened by the fire from the ship, and in some short time a temporary accommodation with them was effected.

Although Newport was named of the council, he was ordered to return with the vessels to England, and the time of his departure approached. The accusers of Smith affecting a degree of humanity which they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia; but with the pride of conscious

conscious innocence, he demanded his trial, and being honourably acquitted, took his seat in the council.

About the 15th June 1607, Newport sailed for England, leaving behind him one of the barks, and about a hundred persons, the only English then on the continent of America.

Thus about one hundred and ten years after this continent had been discovered by Cabot, and twenty-two years after a colony had been conducted to Roanoke by Sir Richard Greenville, the English possessions in America, designed soon to become a mighty empire, were limited to a peninsula of a few thousand acres of land held by a small body of men, who with difficulty maintained themselves against the paltry tribes which surrounded them, and looked, in a great measure, to the other side of the Atlantic for the bread on which they were to subsist.

The stock of provisions for the colony had been very improvidently laid in. It was entirely inadequate to their wants, and in addition to this original error, it had sustained great damage, in the holds of the vessels, during their long passage. On the departure of Newport (during whose stay they managed to partake of the superfluity of the sailors) they were reduced to the necessity of subsisting on the distributions from the public stores. These were at the same time scanty and unwhole-

some. They did not amount to more per man than a pint of worm-eaten wheat and barley, boiled in a common kettle. This wretched food increased the malignity of the diseases generated by a hot, and, at that time, (the country being entirely uncleared and undrained) a damp climate among men exposed from their situation to all its rigours. Before the month of September, fifty of the company, and among them Bartholomew Gosnald, who had planned the expedition and so much contributed towards its being carried on, were buried. This scene of their distress was heightened by internal dissension. The president was charged with having embezzled the best stores of the colony, and with feasting at his private table with beef, bread, and aqua vitæ, then deemed luxuries of the highest order, while famine and death devoured his fellow adventurers. No crime could in the public opinion have been more atrocious. In addition to this, he was detected in an attempt to escape from them and their calamities, in the bark which had been left by Newport. The general indignation could be no longer restrained. He was deposed and Ratcliffe chosen to succeed him.*

Misfortune is not unfrequently the parent of moderation and reflection; and this state of mi-

* Rob. Stith. Chal.

sery

sery produced a system of conduct towards the neighbouring Indians, which for a moment disarmed their resentments, and induced them to bring in such supplies as the country in that season afforded; and thereby to preserve the remnant of the colony. It produced another effect, not less important. Their sense of imminent and common danger called forth and compelled submission to those talents which were fitted to the exigency, and best calculated to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Captain Smith, who had been imprisoned and expelled from the council by the envy of those who felt and hated his superiority; who, after evincing his innocence, had with difficulty been admitted to the station assigned him; preserved his health unimpaired, his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded amidst this general misery and dejection. In him, by common consent, all actual authority was placed, and he, by his own example, soon gave energy and efficiency to others, in the execution of his commands.

He immediately erected at James-town such rude fortifications as were necessary to resist the sudden attacks of the savages; and with great labour, in which he always took the lead himself, completed the construction of such dwellings, as, by sheltering the people from the weather, contributed to restore and preserve their health, while his own

accommodation gave place to that of all others. In the season of gathering corn, which with the Indians is the season of plenty, putting himself at the head of small parties, he penetrated into the country, and by presents and caresses to those who were well disposed, and attacking with open force, and defeating those who were hostile, he obtained for his countrymen the most abundant supplies. While thus actively, and usefully employed abroad, he was not permitted to withdraw his attention from the domestic concerns of the colony.

However unfit men may be for command, there are few examples of their descending willingly from exalted stations once filled by them; and it is not wonderful that the late president saw with regret another placed above him. As unworthy minds most readily devise unworthy means, he sought, by intriguing with the factious, and fomenting their discontents, to regain his lost authority; and when these attempts were disconcerted, plans were laid first by Wingfield and Kendal, and afterwards by the president himself, in conjunction with Martin, the only remaining member of the council except Smith, to escape in the bark, and thus to abandon the country. The vigilance of Smith detected all these machinations, and his vigour defeated them.

The hope was now indulged of preserving the colony in quiet and plenty, until supplies could be received

received from England with the ships which were expected in the spring. This hope was in a considerable degree defeated, by an event which threatened at first the most disastrous consequences. In an attempt to explore the head of Chicahominy river, Smith was discovered and attacked by a numerous body of Indians, and in endeavouring to make his escape, after a most gallant defence, his attention being directed to the enemy, whom he still fought in retreating, he sunk up to his neck in a swamp, and was obliged to surrender. Still retaining his presence of mind, he showed them a mariner's compass, at which, especially at the playing of the needle, and the impossibility of touching it, although they saw it so distinctly, they were greatly astonished; and he amused them with so many surprising stories of its qualities, as to inspire them with a degree of veneration, which prevented their executing their first design of killing him on the spot. They conducted him in triumph through several towns to the palace of Powhatan, the most potent king in that part of the country. There he was sentenced to be put to death, by laying his head upon a stone, and beating out his brains with clubs. He was led to the place of execution, and his head bowed down for the purpose of death, when Pocahontas, the king's darling daughter, then about thirteen years of age, whose entreaties for his life had been in-

effectual, rushed between him and his executioner, and folding his head in her arms and laying her's upon it, arrested the fatal blow. Her father was then prevailed on to spare his life, and after a great many savage ceremonies, he was sent back to James-town.

On his arrival thither, having been absent seven weeks, he found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons, most of whom seemed determined to abandon a country which appeared to them so unfavourable to human life. He was just in time to prevent the execution of this design. Alternately employing persuasion, threats, and even violence, he at length, with much hazard to himself, induced the majority to relinquish the intention they had formed, and then turning the guns of the fort on the bark, on board which were the most determined, compelled her to remain or sink, in the river.

By a judicious regulation of their intercourse with the Indians, among whom Smith was now in high repute, he preserved plenty in the colony until the arrival of two vessels, which had been dispatched from England under the command of Captain Newport, with a supply of provisions, of instruments of husbandry, and with a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty persons, consisting of many gentlemen, a few labourers, and several refiners, and goldsmiths, and jewellers.

The

The joy of the colony on receiving this accession of force and supply of provisions was extreme. But the influence of Smith disappeared with the danger which had produced it; and an improvident relaxation of discipline, productive of the most pernicious consequences, succeeded to it. Among the unwise practices which they tolerated, an indiscriminate traffic with the natives was permitted, in the course of which some obtained for their commodities much better bargains than others, which inspired those who had been most hardly dealt by, and who thought themselves cheated, with resentment against the English generally, and a consequent thirst for revenge.

About this time was found, washed down by a small stream of water at the back of James-town, a glittering earth, which by the colonists was mistaken for gold dust. All that raging thirst for gold, which accompanied the first Europeans who visited the American continent, seemed re-excited by this incident. Mr. Stith, in his History of Virginia, describing the phrenzy of the moment, says, "There was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold. And notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious representation, how absurd it was to neglect other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a crunken ship with gilded dust; yet was he over-

ruled, and her returns made in a parcel of glittering dirt which is to be found in various parts of the country, and which they very sanguinely concluded to be gold dust."

The two vessels returned, one in the spring, the other the 2d June, 1608, laden one with their dust, and the other with cedar. This is the first remittance ever made from America by an English colony.*

The effects of this fatal delusion were such as might have been foreseen, and were soon felt. The colony began to suffer the same distress from scarcity of food, which had before brought it to the brink of ruin.

The researches of the English settlers had not yet extended beyond the countries adjacent to James river. Smith had formed the bold design of exploring the great bay of Chessapeake, examining the mighty rivers which empty into it, opening an intercourse with the nations inhabiting that territory, and acquiring a knowledge of the state of their cultivation and population. This hardy enterprise he undertook, accompanied by Doctor Russell, in an open boat of about three tons burthen, and with a crew of thirteen men. On the 2d of June, he fell down the river in company with the last of Newport's two vessels, and

* Rob. Stith. Chal.

parting

parting with her at the capes, began his survey at Cape Charles. He examined, with immense fatigue and danger, every river, inlet, and bay on both sides the Chessapeake, as far as the mouth of Rappahannock, from whence, their provisions being exhausted, he returned to James-town. He reached that place on the 21st of July, and found the colony in the utmost confusion and disorder. Those who had arrived last with Newport were all sick; a general scarcity prevailed; and a universal discontent with the president, whom they charged with riotously consuming the stores, and unnecessarily fatiguing the people with building a house of pleasure for himself in the woods. The seasonable arrival of Smith prevented their fury from breaking out in acts of personal violence.* Their views were extended, and their spirits revived by the accounts he gave of his discoveries, and especially by the hopes he entertained, which must have been founded on misinterpreting the intelligence received from some of the savages, that the waters of the Chessapeake communicated with the South Sea.†

They contented themselves with deposing their president, and Smith was urged, but refused, to succeed him.

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* Rob. Cl al. Stith.

† This error might very possibly be occasioned by the Indians representing the great lakes to the west as seas.

Having

Having in three days made arrangements for obtaining regular supplies, and for the government of the colony, his firm friend, Mr. Scrivener, was appointed vice-president, and on the 14th of July he again set out with twelve men to complete his researches into the countries on the Chesapeake.

From this voyage he returned on the 7th of September. He had advanced as far as the river Susquehanah, and visited all the countries on both shores of the bay. He entered most of the large creeks, and sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls. He made accurate observations on the extensive territories through which he passed, and on the various tribes inhabiting them, with whom he alternately fought, negociated, and traded. In the various situations in which he found himself, he always displayed judgment, courage, and that presence of mind which is so essential to the character of a commander, and he never failed finally to inspire the savages he encountered, with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation. When we consider that he sailed above three thousand miles in an open boat; when we contemplate the dangers and the hardships he encountered, and the fortitude, courage, and patience with which he met them; when we reflect on the useful and important additions which he made to the stock of knowledge respecting America, then possessed

sessed by his countrymen; we shall not hesitate to say that few voyages of discovery, undertaken at any time, reflect more honour on those engaged in them, than this does on Captain Smith. "So full and exact," says Mr. Robinson, "are his accounts of that large portion of the American continent comprehended in the two provinces of Virginia and Maryland,* that after the progress of information and research for a century and a half, his map exhibits no inaccurate view of both countries, and is the original on which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed."

It may not be entirely unworthy of remark that, about the bottom of the bay, Smith met with a party of Indians from the St. Lawrence coming to war with those of that neighbourhood, and that he found, among Indians on the Susquehanah, hatchets obtained originally from the French in Canada.

On the 10th of September, immediately after his return from this expedition, Smith was chosen president by the council, and, yielding to the general wish, he accepted the office. Soon after, Newport arrived with an additional supply of inhabitants, among whom were the two first females

* This must be understood as applying to the very extensive parts of those states which border on the bay, and on the rivers emptying into it below their falls.

who

who had adventured into the present colony, but he came without provisions.

The disinterested, judicious, and vigorous administration of the president, however, supplied their wants and restrained the turbulent. Encouraged by his example, and coerced by his authority, a spirit of industry and subordination appeared to be created in the colony, which was the parent of plenty and of peace.

In the mean time the company in England became excessively dissatisfied with their property in America. They had calculated on discovering a passage to the South Sea, and on mines of the precious metals which might afford to individuals, the same sudden accumulation of wealth, which had been acquired by the Spaniards in the south. In all their hopes they had been grievously disappointed, and had, as yet, received scarcely any retribution for the heavy expences they had incurred. Yet hope did not altogether forsake them, and they still indulged in golden dreams of future wealth.

To increase their funds, as well as the influence and reputation of the company, by the acquisition of additional members, among whom were men of the first consequence in the nation; to explain and enlarge their powers and privileges, and to ensure more certainly a colonial government conforming to their own views and wishes; a new charter

charter was petitioned for, which, on the 23d of May 1609, was granted them. Some of the first nobility and gentry of the country, most of the companies of London, with a numerous body of merchants and tradesmen, were now added to the former adventurers; and they were all incorporated by the name of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first Colony in Virginia." To them were now granted, in absolute property, the lands extending from Cape or Point Comfort, along the sea coast, two hundred miles to the northward, and from the same point, along the sea coast, two hundred miles to the southward, and up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and north-west; and also all the islands lying within one hundred miles of the coast of both seas of the precinct aforesaid; to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in free and common soccage, and paying in lieu of all services one-fifth of the gold and silver that should be found. The corporation was authorized to convey, under its common seal, particular portions of these lands to subjects or denizens, on such conditions as might promote the intentions of the grant. The powers of the president and council in Virginia were abrogated, and a new council in England was established and ordained in the charter, with power to the company to fill all vacancies therein by election. This

council

council was empowered to appoint and remove all officers for the colony, and to make all ordinances for its government, provided they be not contrary to the laws of England; and to rule and correct the colonists according to such ordinances. Licence was given to transport to Virginia all persons willing to go thither, and to export merchandize free from customs for seven years. There was also granted, for twenty-one years, freedom from all subsidies in Virginia, and from all impositions on importations and exportations to or from any of the king's dominions, "except only the five pounds in the hundred due for customs." The colonists were declared to be entitled to the rights of natural subjects. The governor was empowered to establish martial law in case of rebellion or mutiny, and to prevent the superstitions of the church of Rome from taking root in the plantation, it was declared that none should pass into Virginia but such as shall have first taken the oath of supremacy.

The company being thus enlarged, was now enabled to take more efficient measures than heretofore, for the settlement of the country. They soon fitted out nine ships, with five hundred emigrants, and such supplies as were deemed necessary for them. Lord Delaware was constituted governor and captain general for life, and several other high sounding and useless offices were created.

ated. The direction of the expedition was again given to Newport, and to him and Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, powers were severally granted to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony until the arrival of Lord Delaware. With singular indiscretion, the council omitted to establish precedence among these gentlemen, and being totally unable to settle this important point between themselves, they agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage. They were parted from the rest of the fleet in a storm, and driven on Bermudas, having on board one hundred and fifty men, a considerable portion of the provisions destined for the colony, and the new commission and instructions of the council.

The residue of the squadron arrived safely in Virginia. "A great part of this new company," says Mr. Stith, "consisted of unruly sparks, packed off by their friends, to escape worse destinies at home; and the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen and such others, as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth, than to help to raise or maintain one. This lewd company, therefore, were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagances. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing

posing of the government, and it sometimes devolved on one, and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule; to-morrow the new; and next day neither; so that all was anarchy and distraction."

The judgment of Smith was suspended but for a short time. He soon determined that his own authority was not legally revoked until the arrival of the new commission, and therefore resolved to continue its exercise. Incapable of holding the reins of government but with a firm and steady hand, he exhibited, on this emergency, that vigour and good sense, which he always displayed most eminently when he most needed them. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoters of the sedition, and thereby restored, for a time, regularity and obedience. Having effected this, he, for the double purpose of extending the settlements of the colony, and of preventing the mischiefs to be apprehended from so many turbulent spirits collected in James-town, detached one hundred persons to the falls of James-river, under the conduct of West, and the same number to Nansemond, under the command of Martin. These settlements were conducted with so little judgment, that they soon converted all the neighbouring Indians into enemies, had several parties cut off, and found themselves in absolute need of the support and direction of Smith.

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They were readily supplied till a melancholy accident deprived the colony of the aid of a man, whose talents had more than once rescued it from that desperate condition into which folly and vice had plunged it. Returning from a visit to the detachment stationed at the falls of James-river, his powder-bag, while he was sleeping in the boat, took fire, and in the explosion he was so severely wounded, as to be confined to his bed, and thereby rendered absolutely incapable of performing the active duties which his station so indispensably required. Being thus wounded, and unable to obtain the aid of a surgeon in the colony, he determined to return to England, for which place he embarked about the beginning of October.

At his departure the colony consisted of about five hundred inhabitants. They were furnished with three ships, seven boats, commodities ready for trade, ten weeks provision in the public stores, six mares and a horse, a large stock of hogs and poultry, with some sheep and goats, utensils for agriculture, nets for fishing, one hundred trained and expert soldiers well acquainted with the Indians, their language and habitations, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and three hundred muskets, with a sufficient quantity of other arms and ammunition.*

Stith.

The present fair prospects of the colony were soon blasted by those scenes of folly and crime, of riot and insubordination, which ensued.

Various pretenders immediately advanced their claims to the supreme command. The choice, however, fell upon Captain Percy, who derived much consideration from the virtues of his heart, as well as from his illustrious family; but his talents, at no time suited to the storms of his new and difficult situation, were rendered still less competent to the task, by a long course of ill health, which had determined him to return to England, from which he was with difficulty dissuaded. Being generally confined by sickness to his bed, he was incapable of maintaining his authority, and a total confusion with its accustomed baneful consequences ensued.

The Indians, understanding that the man whose conduct and vigour they had so often experienced and so much dreaded, no longer governed the colonists, attacked them on all sides. Captains West and Martin having lost their boats and nearly half their men, were driven from the falls of James river and Nansemond, unto James-town. The stock of provisions was lavishly wasted, and a famine, the most dreadful with which they had ever been afflicted, raged among them. After devouring the skins of their horses, and the Indians they had killed, the survivors fed on those of their companions,

companions, who had sunk under such accumulated calamities. The recollection of these tremendous sufferings was long retained, and for many years this period was distinguished and remembered by the name of the STARVING TIME.

In six months the colony was by these distresses reduced to sixty persons of all ages and sexes, who were so feeble and dejected that they could not have survived ten days longer. In this calamitous state they were relieved by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who arrived from Bermudas the 24th of May 1610.

It was immediately determined to abandon the country, and for this purpose the wretched remnant of the colony embarked on board the vessels just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. "None dropped a tear," says Mr. Chalmer, "because none had enjoyed one day of happiness."*

Fortunately they met in the river Lord Delaware with three ships and a recruit of new settlers and provisions from England, who prevailed upon them to return, and on the 10th of June resettled them at James-town.

By his mildness of temper, his assiduity to business, and a judicious exercise of authority, this

* Stith. Chalmer.

nobleman restored order and contentment to the colony, and again impressed the Indians with respect for the English name. Unfortunately a complication of diseases soon obliged him to resign his government, which, on the 28th of March 1611, he placed once more in the hands of Mr. Percy, and sailed himself for Nevis in the West Indies; leaving in the colony about two hundred persons in possession of the blessings of health, plenty and peace.

On the 10th of May, Sir Thomas Dale, who had been appointed to the government, arrived with a fresh supply of men and provisions, and found the colony relapsing into its former state of idleness and penury. It required all the authority of the new governor to maintain public order, and to compel the idle and dissolute to labour. Some conspiracies having been detected, he proclaimed martial law, and instantly executed it by punishing the most guilty. These severities which, in the ordinary state of society, would not and ought not to have been submitted to, were then deemed necessary, and are spoken of as having probably saved the settlement.

In the beginning of August, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Dale, arrived with six ships and a considerable supply of men and provisions. The colony being now greatly strengthened, began to extend itself

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up James river, and several new settlements were made.

The extravagant accounts given of the beauty and fertility of Bermudas, by those who had been cast away on that island, having reached England, created in the company a desire of obtaining it as a place from which Virginia might be supplied with provisions. Application was therefore made to the crown for a new patent which should comprehend this island, and, in March 1612, a new charter was issued, granting to the treasurer and company all the islands situated in the ocean within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. By this charter former grants and immunities were confirmed, but the corporation was essentially new-modelled. It was ordained that four general courts of the adventurers should be holden annually, for the determination of affairs of importance; and weekly meetings were appointed, for the transaction of common business: and to promote the effectual settlement of the plantation, which had already cost such considerable sums, licence was given to open lotteries in any part of England.

These lotteries, which were the first ever drawn in England, brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, and when afterwards, in 1620, they were complained of by the commons in parliament, and therefore discontinued

nued by proclamation, they were spoken of as having "supplied the real food by which Virginia had been nourished."

About this time an event took place which was followed by important consequences to the colony. Provisions in James-town continued to be scarce, and supplies from the neighbouring Indians with whom the English were often at war, and seldom on terms of real cordiality, were necessarily uncertain. In the beginning of the year 1612, Captain Argal arrived from England with two vessels, and was sent round to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he understood that Pocahontas, who had saved the life of Captain Smith, and had ever been steadfast in her attachment to the English, having, for some unknown cause, absented herself from the house of her father, now lay concealed. By bribing some of those in whom she confided, Captain Argal prevailed on her to come on board his vessel, where she was detained respectfully, and brought to James-town. His motive for taking this ſtep, was a hope that the poſſeſſion of Pocahontas would give the English an aſcendancy over her father Powhatan, who was known to doat on her. In this however he was disappointed. Powhatan offered corn and friendſhip if they would firſt reſtore his daughter, but would come to no terms, till that reparation was made for what he reſented as an act of unhandſome

some treachery. During her detention at Jamestown she made an impression on the heart of Mr. Rolfe, a young gentleman of estimation in the colony, who also succeeded in gaining her affections. They were married with the consent of Powhatan, who, by that event, was entirely reconciled to the English, and ever after continued to be their sincere friend. This led also to a treaty with the Chiccahominies, a brave and daring tribe, who submitted to the English, and became their tributaries.

About this time too, a change took place in the interior arrangements of the colony, which greatly ameliorated its condition, and gave to the colonists very general satisfaction.

Heretofore no separate property in lands had been acquired, and no individual laboured for himself. The lands had been held in common, cleared in common, cultivated in common, and their produce carried into a common granary, from which it was distributed to all. This system, which might in some degree be justified by the peculiarities of their situation, was chiefly occasioned by the unwise injunction contained in the royal instructions, which directed the colonists, for five years, to trade together in one common stock. Its effect was such as ought to have been foreseen. Industry itself, deprived of its due reward, exclusive property in the produce of its

toil, felt no sufficient stimulus to exertion; and each individual believing that his efforts could add but little to the general fund, and that he must be fed, although idle, sought to withdraw himself as much as possible from the labours assigned him. It was computed that less work was accomplished in a week, than might have been performed in a day, had each individual laboured on his own account.* To remove this cause of perpetual scarcity, Sir Thomas Dale divided a considerable portion of the land into lots of three acres, and granted one of these to each individual, in full property. Although they were still required to devote a large portion of their labour to the public, yet a sudden change was made in the appearance and habits of the colony. Industry, having from this moment the certain prospect of recompence, advanced with rapid strides, and the colonists were no longer in fear of wanting bread, either for themselves, or for the emigrants who came annually from England.

Early in the year 1614, Sir Thomas Gates returned to England, leaving the government again with Sir Thomas Dale. He planned, and, in the course of that summer, executed under Captain Argal, an enterprise of which no immediate notice was taken, but which was afterwards recol-

* Stith. Beverly.

lected

lected with no inconsiderable degree of indignation.

The French who had directed their course to the more northern parts of our continent, had been among the first adventurers to North America. Their voyages of discovery are of a very early date, and their attempts at a settlement were among the first which were made. So early as the year 1535, Jacques Quartier wintered in Canada, made an alliance with some tribes of savages, built a fort, and took possession of the country. In 1540, Francis the First appointed the Sieur de Roberval, lieutenant-general of Newfoundland and Canada, with power to conduct French families thither, and to make settlements. In the autumn of the same year Jacques Quartier was appointed captain general of five vessels destined for an expedition to the new world. They arrived in 1541 at Cape Breton, where the emigrants fortified themselves, and made their first establishment. The fort built by that adventurer is considered by the French as having been erected with an intent to hold the country; but his object is contended, by the English, to have been rather discovery than settlement. The civil contentions which soon afterwards desolated France diverted the attention of the government from America, to objects of deeper concern; yet a permanent settlement was made in Canada in the year 1604, and the foundation

dation of Quebec was laid in the year 1608. In November 1603, Henry IV. appointed De Mont, lieutenant-general of that part of the territory which he claimed lying in North America, the 40th and 46th degrees of latitude, then called Acadié, with power to colonize and to rule it; and he soon afterwards granted to that gentleman and his associates an exclusive right to the commerce of peltry in Acadié in America, and the gulph of St. Lawrence. A settlement was accordingly, in the subsequent year, founded on that coast near the river St. Croix; and, in 1605, was built Port Royal, on a more northern part of the bay of Fundy.

The colony receiving but little support from France was feeble and unprosperous, but retained quiet possession of the country. Against this colony, in a time of profound peace, the expedition of Argal was directed.

He found it totally unprepared for defence; the inhabitants, who had assiduously and successfully cultivated the friendship of the Indians, being restrained by no fear of hostility from them, were scattered abroad in the woods, engaged in their several pursuits; and a ship and bark just arrived from France laden with articles necessary for the use of the colony, were surprised in port, and their cargoes taken to James-town. Argal left no garrison to keep possession of the place,

and

and after his departure, the French, who had only dispersed themselves among the Indians during the continuance of danger, immediately resumed their former station.

The pretext for this predatory expedition was, that the French, by settling in Acadié, had invaded the rights of the English acquired by the first discovery of the continent.*

On his return to James-town, Argal paid a visit to New York, then in possession of the Dutch. He claimed the country as having been first discovered in 1609 by Captain Hudson, who was an Englishman, and the benefit of whose discoveries, he alleged, could not be transferred from his nation. He demanded possession; and the Dutch governor, whose force consisted merely of a few traders, being unable to resist, "peaceably submitted both himself and his colony to the king of England, and the governor of Virginia under him,"† and consented to pay a tribute. Argal then continued his voyage to James-town. But another governor afterwards arriving from Amsterdam with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the payment of the tribute was refused, and the place put in a situation to be defended.

The advantages resulting to the colony from

* L'Escarbot. † St. Bev. Ch. Rob.

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the portion of labour which each individual had been permitted to apply to his private account having soon become apparent, the system of working in common to fill the public stores seems to have been totally abandoned. Originally every emigrant was, by the rules of the company, entitled to one hundred acres of land for himself, and as much for every person he should import into the country; but these rules had never been carried into effect. The quantity was now reduced to fifty acres, which were actually laid off, and delivered to the person having title to them, who was permitted to exercise over them, in such manner as was agreeable to himself, all the rights of ownership.

About the same time tobacco was first cultivated in Virginia. This plant, although detested by the king, who used all his influence to prevent its use, and even wrote a pamphlet against it, which he stiled a counter-blast; although discountenanced by the leading members of parliament, and even by the company, who issued edicts against its cultivation; although on a first experiment extremely unpleasant to the taste, and disagreeable in its effects; surmounted all opposition, and has, by an unaccountable caprice, been brought into general use, and become one of the most considerable staples of America.

In the spring of the year 1616, Sir Thomas Dale

Dale sailed for England, having placed the government in the hands of Mr. George Yeardly, his deputy, who, after a very lax administration of one year, was succeeded in May 1617, by Captain Argal, who had been appointed deputy governor by the company.

He was a man of considerable talents and great energy of mind, but selfish, haughty and tyrannical. He provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and remedied with skill and attention many abuses which had been permitted to creep in among them; but he is charged with having availed himself improperly of the advantages of his situation for the acquisition of private wealth, and with having exercised over the people of Virginia his high authority, in a manner to the last degree odious and despotic. Martial law was continued during a season of peace; and a Mr. Brewster, who was tried under his arbitrary system for contemptuous words spoken of the governor, was sentenced to suffer death. A respite of execution was with difficulty obtained, and on an appeal to the treasurer and council in England, the sentence was reversed.

While martial law was, according to Stith, the common law of the land, the deputy governor seems to have been the sole legislator. His edicts mark the severity of his rule, but some of them evince an attention to the public safety. He ordered

dered that merchandises should be sold at an advance of twenty-five per centum, and tobacco taken in payment at the rate of three shillings per pound, under the penalty of three years servitude to the company; that no person should traffic privately with the Indians, or teach them the use of fire-arms under the pain of death; that no person should hunt deer or hogs without the governor's leave; that no man should shoot unless in his own necessary defence, until a new supply of ammunition arrived, on pain of a year's personal service; that none should go on board the ships at James-town without the governor's leave; that every person should go to church on Sundays and holidays, under the penalty of slavery during the following week for the first offence, during a month for the second, and during a year and a day for the third. The rigour of this administration necessarily excited much discontent, and the complaints of the Virginians at length made their way to the company. Lord Delaware being now dead, Mr. Yeardly was appointed captain-general, with instructions to examine with attention the wrongs of the colonists, and to redress them.*

The new governor arrived in April 1619, and soon after, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabi-

* Stith.

tants,

tants, declared his determination to convoke a colonial assembly.

This is an important æra in the history of Virginia. Heretofore all legislative authority had been exercised, either by the corporation in England, or by their officers in this country. The people, either personally or by their representatives, had no voice in the government of themselves; and their most important concerns were decided on by persons often unacquainted with their situation, and always possessing interests different from theirs. They now felicitated themselves on having really the privileges of Englishmen, and on possessing substantially the benefits of the English constitution.

This first assembly met at James-town on the 19th of June. The colony was not then divided into counties, and the members were elected by the different boroughs, amounting at that time to seven. From this circumstance the popular branch of the assembly received the appellation of the House of Burgesses, which it retained until all connection with England was dissolved.

The assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and burgesses, met together in one apartment, and there debated all matters thought conducive to the general welfare. The laws then enacted, which it is believed are no longer extant, were transmitted to England for the approbation of

of the treasurer and company, and were said to have been "judiciously formed."*

The emigrations from England continued to be very considerable, and were made at great expence to the company, but as yet few females had crossed the Atlantic. Men without wives could not contemplate Virginia as a place of permanent residence, and proposed, after amassing some wealth, to return to their native land. To put an end to a mode of thinking in its effects ruinous to the colony, it was proposed to send out one hundred maids, as wives for the colonists. Ninety girls, young and uncorrupt, were transported in the beginning of the year 1620, and sixty more in the subsequent year. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters. The price of a wife was estimated first at one hundred, and afterwards at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, then selling at three shillings per pound, and a debt so contracted was made of greater dignity than any other. The education of children was likewise attended to, and several steps were taken towards founding the college, afterwards completely established by William and Mary. About the same time the company received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle

* Stith. Chal.

and

and dissolute persons, then in custody of the knight marshal. These men dispersed through the colony, became a useful and acceptable addition of labourers, and were the first convicts transported to America.

Heretofore the commerce of Virginia had been engrossed by the corporation alone. In the year 1620 this monopoly, which, while it depressed the colony, had afforded but little real advantage to the company, was given up, and the trade was opened to all. While free competition, to which this regulation gave birth, was undoubtedly of essential benefit to the colony, it was the immediate cause of introducing a species of population, which has had vast influence on their past situation, and may affect their future destinies in a manner which human wisdom can neither foresee nor control. A Dutch vessel, availing itself of the commercial liberty which now prevailed, brought into James-river twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves.

In July, 1621, the company passed an ordinance establishing the constitution of the colony. This provided that henceforth there should be two supreme councils in Virginia; the one to be called the council of state, to be appointed and displaced by the treasurer and company, and to assist the governor with advice on executive subjects; the other to

be denominated the general assembly, and to consist of the governor, the councils, and two burgesses, to be chosen for the present by the inhabitants of every town, hundred, or settlement in the colony. The assembly was empowered to consult and determine on matters respecting the public weal, by the majority of voices present, and to enact general laws for the government of the colony, reserving to the governor a negative. It was declared that no acts passed by the assembly should be in force till confirmed by the general court in England, and the ratification returned under its seal; and that on the other hand no order of the general court should bind the colony till assented to by the assembly.

The controversy which had for some time existed between the crown and the company, concerning the importation of tobacco, was at length adjusted by amicable agreement.

The king had demanded high duties on that article, while he admitted its importation from the dominions of Spain, and had also restrained the company from transporting it directly from Virginia to their warehouses in Holland, to which expedient his exactions had driven them. It was now agreed that they should enjoy the sole right of importing that commodity into the kingdom, for which they should pay a duty of nine-pence per

per pound, in lieu of all charges, that the whole productions of the colony should be brought to England.

The industry, number, and produce of the colony had now greatly encreased. At peace with the Indians, and unapprehensive of danger, their settlements had extended, not only along the banks of James and York rivers, but to the Rappahannoc, and even to the Potowmac, as had been dictated by interest, or suggested by convenience or caprice. It became now extremely inconvenient to bring all causes to James-town, before the governor and council, who had heretofore exercised the whole judicial powers of the country, and inferior courts were established, to sit in convenient places, in order to render justice more cheap and accessible to the people. Thus originated the present county courts of Virginia.

In 1622, the cup of prosperity, of which the colonists now began to taste, was dashed from their lips by an event which shook to its foundation and nearly destroyed the colony. In 1618, Powhatan, the most powerful of the Indian kings in Virginia, who, after the marriage of his daughter Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe, had remained faithful to the English, departed this life, and was succeeded, not only in his own dominions, but in his influence over all the neighbouring tribes, by Opechancanough,

chancanough, a bold and cunning chief, as remarkable for his jealousy and hate for the new settlers, as for his qualifications to execute the revenge his resentments dictated. He renewed however the stipulations of Powhatan, and for a considerable time the general peace remained undisturbed. The colonists, unsuspicious of danger, neither attended to the Indians, nor their machinations. Engaged in the cultivation of the soil, all their views seemed directed to that single object; and their military exercises and all useful precautions were laid aside; while the Indians being often employed as hunters, were furnished with fire arms and taught to use them. They were admitted at all times, freely, into the habitations of the English, as harmless visitants; were fed at their tables, and lodged in their chambers. During this state of free and friendly intercourse, was formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan of a general massacre, which should involve man, woman and child, in indiscriminate slaughter. The tribes in the neighbourhood of the English except those on the eastern shore, who were not trusted with the plan, were successively gained over; and notwithstanding the perpetual intercourse kept up between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was observed. So deep and dark was their dissimulation,

tion, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and mature their execrable designs.

The 22nd of March was designated as the day on which all the English settlements were to be at the same instant attacked. The better to disguise their intentions, and to ensure success, they brought in the preceding evening, deer, turkies, and fish, as presents; and even on the morning of the massacre came freely among them, behaving in their usual friendly manner, until the very instant which had been appointed to commence the scene of carnage they had prepared. The fatal hour having arrived, they fell at once on every settlement, murdered without distinction of age or sex; and so sudden were they in executing their plan, that few perceived the weapons, or the approach of the blow which terminated their existence. Thus in one hour, and almost in the same instant, fell three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children, most of them by their own plantation tools and utensils.

The massacre would have been much more complete, had not information been given the preceding night to a Mr. Pace, by an Indian domesticated in his house, where he had been treated as a son, and who being pressed to murder him, disclosed to him the plot. He immediately carried the intelligence to James-town, and the alarm was given

to some of the nearest settlements, which were thereby saved: at some other places too, where the circumstances of the attack enabled the English to seize their arms, the assailants were repulsed.

To this horrible massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war, in which were successfully practised upon the Indians, the wiles of which they had set so bloody an example. During this disastrous period, many public works were abandoned; the college institution was deserted, the settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine superadded to the accumulated distresses of the colony, its afflicting scourge.

As soon as intelligence of these calamitous events reached England, a contribution of the adventurers for the relief of the suffers was ordered; arms from the Tower were delivered to the treasurer and company; and several vessels were immediately dispatched with those articles, which might best alleviate such complicated distress.

But the dissolution of company now rapidly approached. In that body were men of the first rank and talents in the nation. In their assemblies they were in habits of discussing with the accustomed freedom of a popular body, the measures of the crown, many of which materially affected them. Two violent factions, which assumed the regular appearance of court and country parties, divided the

the company, and struggled for the ascendancy. James endeavoured to give the preponderance to the court party, but his endeavours were unsuccessful; and this failure disposed him to listen to complaints against a corporation whose deliberations he found himself unable to control. To their mismanagement was ascribed the slow progress made by the colony, and the very heavy losses which had been sustained. They, as well as their accusers, were heard before the privy council, in April 1623, and it was then determined to issue a commission, appointing persons to be named by the crown, to enquire into the affairs of Virginia from the earliest settlement of the province, and report thereon to the government. This commission of enquiry, in the execution of its powers, seized the charters, books, and papers of the company; and all letters and packets brought from the colony were ordered to be laid unopened before the privy council. Their report attributed to the corporation in England the misfortunes of the colony, and James, who was at no time a friend to popular assemblies, soon communicated to them his resolution to revoke the old charter, and grant a new one, which, while it respected the right of property, should place the powers of government in fewer hands. Their assent to this proposition and a surrender of their charters were required; and they were, at the same time, in-

formed that the king was determined, in default of submission, to proceed for recalling them as might be just. The country however resolutely determined to defend its rights, whereupon a writ of *quo warranto* was instituted in the court of King's Bench, which was decided in June 1624, in a manner entirely consonant to the wishes of the king. The company was now disolved, and all its powers revested in the crown.

Above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended in planting the colony, and more than nine thousand persons had been sent from England to people it. Yet, at the dissolution of the company, the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds in value, and the population of the country was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons.

While these things were transacting in England, the war against the Indians was prosecuted with vigour and success. Mingling artifice with force, the neighbouring hostile tribes were nearly exterminated, and driven entirely from the rivers, so that the settlements extended themselves in safety.

In February was once more convened the general assembly, who enacted into laws the several orders which had been previously made by the governor and council; and these are the oldest legislative rules of action now remaining on record. Various regulations were made respecting the church

church of England: and at this session it was solemnly declared, "that the governor should not impose any taxes on the colony, otherwise than by the authority of the general assembly; and that he should not withdraw the inhabitants from their private labour to any service of his own." At this session, too, the burgesses, as well as the counsellors, were freed from arrest during the session of the assembly. A variety of measures tending to correct abuses, of which they had felt the mischievous operation, were adopted; and the laws of that session are said to be marked with that good sense and patriotism, which are to be expected from men perfectly understanding their situation, and legislating for themselves.*

From this assembly the royal commissioners endeavoured in vain to procure an address to the king, professing "their willingness to submit themselves to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But a petition was agreed to and transmitted, acknowledging their satisfaction at his having taken the plantation into his more especial care, beseeching him to continue the then form of government, to confirm to Virginia and the Somer isles the sole importation of tobacco, and soliciting that, if the promised aid of soldiers

* Stith.

should

should be granted them, the governor and assembly might have a voice in directing their operations. A representation of nearly the same import was, at the same time, transmitted to the privy council by a special agent, who was empowered to solicit the affairs of the colony.

Virginia having thus become a royal government, the king issued a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom was committed the entire direction of the affairs of the colony. No assembly was mentioned, nor was it intended to permit the continuance of that body; for to the popular shape of the late system, James attributed its disasters. With this subversion of all political liberty was mingled, however, some attention to their individual interest. Yielding to the petition of the English parliament and of the colonists, he, in September, issued a proclamation, prohibiting the growth of tobacco in the kingdom, and the importation of that commodity into England or Ireland, but from Virginia or the Somer isles, and in vessels belonging to his subjects. His death, which happened soon afterwards, prevented the completion of a legislative code for the colony, which he had set about, and which, from the complacency with which he viewed his talents as a legislator, he flattered himself would remedy all the ills which had been experienced.

Charles

Charles the First adopted, in its full extent, the colonial system of his father. On Sir George Yeardly, whom he appointed governor of Virginia, and on his council, devolved the whole legislative and executive powers of the colony, with instructions to conform strictly to orders which should be received from him. They were empowered, without the intervention of the representatives of the people, to make laws and to execute them; to impose taxes and to inforce the payment of them; to seize the property of the late company, and, without their assent, to apply it to public use; and to transport the colonists to England, there to be prosecuted for crimes committed in Virginia. To complete this hateful system, a monopoly of the tobacco trade was exacted by the crown, and the whole of that article imported into the kingdom was ordered to be delivered to agents appointed by the king, to be managed entirely by them.

The full pressure of these arbitrary regulations was probably not felt until the year 1629, when Mr. Yeardly being dead, Sir John Harvey was appointed to succeed him as governor of Virginia. The mind of this gentleman is represented by the historians of the day as having been of a structure to exhibit tyranny in its most odious form. Rapacious, haughty, and unfeeling, he exercised his powers in the most offensive manner. From respect

spect to his commission, he, for several years, experienced no resistance. Roused at length almost to madness by oppression, the Virginians, in a fit of popular rage, seized their governor, in 1636, and sent him a prisoner to England, accompanied by two deputies charged with the task of representing their grievances and his misconduct.

This summary and violent proceeding, so entirely incompatible with the implicit obedience to his authority which Charles had ever exacted from his subjects, that monarch deemed it necessary strongly to discountenance. The deputies of the colonies were therefore sternly received; no enquiry appears to have been made into the conduct of Harvey; and early in the year 1637 he was sent back to Virginia, and again invested with his former powers.

The time however approached when a new system of administration was to be adopted. The discontents of his kingdom, and his own wants, obliged Charles to contemplate, after a long intermission, the resemblage of his parliament. He was probably unwilling to increase the ill-temper with which his mal-administration at home had inspired the nation, by bringing before their representatives complaints excited by the despotism which had been exercised in America.

To this change of circumstances may probably be ascribed the appointment of Sir William Berkeley

ley to succeed Harvey as governor of Virginia. In almost every respect this gentleman was unlike his predecessor. His superior in rank and abilities, he was still more distinguished by his integrity, by the mildness of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and those popular virtues to which Harvey was so entirely a stranger. To complete the satisfaction of the colonists, he was empowered and directed to summon the burgesses of all the plantations to meet the governor and council in the general assembly, and thereby to restore to the people their share in the government of themselves.

These changes of their governor and constitution had such an effect in Virginia, that when, afterwards, they were informed of a petition presented in the name of the assembly to parliament, "praying for the restoration of the ancient patents and corporation government," the general assembly not only transmitted an explicit disavowal of it, but sent an address to the king, in 1650, expressing their high sense of his bounty and favour towards them, and earnestly desiring to continue under his immediate protection. And during the civil war which soon afterwards raged in England, as well as after the establishment of the commonwealth, they continued firm in their attachment to the royal family, although one king

king had been beheaded, and another forced into exile.

The house of commons, however, having succeeded in the establishment of its power over England, was not disposed to permit its authority to be questioned in Virginia. An ordinance was passed in October, declaring that, as the colonies were settled at the cost, and by the people of England, they are and ought to be subordinate to and dependant on that nation; and subject to such laws or regulations as are or shall be made by parliament: that in Virginia and other places, the powers of government had been usurped by persons who had set themselves up in opposition to the commonwealth, and were therefore denounced as rebels and traitors; and all foreign vessels were forbidden to enter the ports of any of the English settlements in America. As those who then governed were not in the habit of making empty declarations, the council of state was empowered to send to Virginia a fleet to enforce obedience to parliament.

Sir George Ayscue was accordingly detached with a powerful fleet and army, and was instructed to endeavour, by granting pardon and other peaceful means, to bring the colonists to obedience; but, if these failed, to use force, and to give freedom to such servants and slaves of those who

who should resist, as would serve in the forces under his command. In 1651, after having reduced to submission Barbadoes and the other islands, the squadron entered the bay of Chessapeake. Berkeley having hired a few Dutch ships, which were then trading to Virginia, made a gallant resistance; but unable long to maintain so unequal a contest, he yielded to the superior force which assailed him, having first stipulated for the colony complete indemnity for past offences. For himself, he withdrew into a retired situation, where, beloved and respected by the people, he resided as a private man, till a new revolution called him once more to preside over the colony.

Since the revocation of the charter, it became more easy to obtain large grants of lands, and this circumstance, notwithstanding the tyranny of the government, greatly promoted emigrations, and consequently increased very considerably the po-population of the colony. At the commencement of the civil war, Virginia was supposed to contain about three thousand souls.*

While the ordinance of 1650, forbidding all trade between the colonies and foreign nations, was dispensed with in favour of republican New England, it was rigorously enforced against the

* Chalmer.

loyal

loyal colony of Virginia. These new restrictions were the more burthensome, because England did not then furnish a sufficient market for all the colonial produce, nor a supply for all their wants. Their operation was sensibly felt by every man in the diminution of the value of his labour. This severity was ill calculated to detach the affections of the people from the royal family. Their discontents too were fed and cherished by the great number of cavaliers who, after the total defeat of their party in England, fled for refuge and safety to Virginia. Taking advantage of an interregnum occasioned by the sudden death of Governor Mathews, they resolved to throw off the forced allegiance they had yielded to the commonwealth, and called on Sir William Berkeley to resume the government. He only required their solemn promise to venture their lives and fortunes with him in support of their king; and this being readily given, Charles the Second was proclaimed in Virginia, before intelligence had been there received of the death of Cromwell. Fortunately for the colony, his restoration to the English crown was soon after effected, and this rash measure, which would otherwise have been deemed a crime deserving severe chastisement, became a meritorious service, of which Virginia long boasted, and which was not entirely forgotten by the prince.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the reduction of the price of those articles which were produced by labour, and the other inconveniences to which they were exposed by the destruction of their foreign commerce, such were the emigrations into the country, occasioned partly by the facility of acquiring lands, and partly by the oppression of the royal party in England, that, at the restoration, Virginia contained about thirty thousand persons.

One of the causes which, during the government of Harvey, had disquieted Virginia, was the diminution of territory occasioned by grants of large tracts of country lying within the limits of the colony; the most remarkable of those was the grant of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore.

In June 1632, Charles the First granted to that nobleman for ever, "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins's point of Chessapeake bay, to the ocean on the east; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the 40th degree, where New England is terminated; thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of the Potowmac; thence following its course, by the further bank of its confluence." The territory thus granted was denominated Maryland, and was separated entirely from Virginia. The proprietor was empowered, with the assent of the freemen, or their delegates, whom he was required

to assemble for that purpose, to make all laws for the government of the new colony not inconsistent with the laws of England. Privileges, in other respects analogous to those given to other colonies, were comprised in this charter; and it is remarkable, that it contains no clause for obliging the proprietary to submit the laws which might be enacted to the king for his approbation or dissent; nor any reservation of the right of the crown to interfere in the government of the province.

This is the first example of the dismemberment of a colony and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

The first emigration consisted of about one hundred gentlemen, with their adherents, chiefly roman catholics, who sailed from England under Calvert, the brother of the proprietor, in November 1632, and, early in the following year, landed in Maryland, near the confluence of the Potowmac. Their immediate effort was to conciliate the good will of the aborigines, from whom they purchased their town, which Calvert settled, and called St. Mary's. This measure was as wise as it was just. By obtaining the peaceful possession of a considerable piece of ground already prepared for cultivation, the Marylanders were enabled, immediately, to raise their food; and from this cause, as well as from their neighbourhood to Virginia,

ginia, which now afforded in abundance the necessaries of life, they were never afflicted with famine and its concomitant diseases, and thus escaped those calamities which had nearly suffocated in the cradle the infant colonies of Virginia and New England.

Against the grant to Lord Baltimore, the planters of Virginia presented a petition, which was heard before the privy council in July 1633, when it was decided, that that nobleman should retain his patent, and the petitioners their remedy at law. To this remedy they never thought proper to resort. To prevent further differences, however, free and mutual commerce was permitted to exist between the colonies; and they were each enjoined to receive no fugitives from the other; to do no act which might bring on a war with the natives; and, on all occasions, to assist each other as became fellow-subjects of the same state.

In February, 1634-5, was convened the first assembly of Maryland. Like those of other colonies, it appeared to have been composed of the whole body of freemen. Their acts were, most probably, not approved by the proprietor, who transmitted in turn, for their consideration, a code of laws prepared by himself. This code was laid before an assembly summoned to meet in January 1637-8, which rejected it without hesita-

tion, and immediately prepared a body of regulations adapted to their own situation. Among these was a bill, providing a revenue for the proprietary, who had already expended forty thousand pounds sterling in settling the colony; and an act of attainder against William Clayborne, who was charged with felony and sedition, with having exercised government within the province without authority, and with having excited the Indians to make war on the colony.

So early as 1631, Charles had granted a licence under the sign manual to William Clayborne, one of the council, and secretary of state of Virginia, "to traffic in those parts of America, for which there is already no patent granted for sole trade." To inforce this licence, Harvey, the then governor of Virginia, had, in March 1632, granted also his commission containing the same powers. Under this licence and commission he made a small settlement on the isle of Kent, near Annapolis, which he continued to claim, and refused to submit to the jurisdiction of Maryland. He infused his own spirit into the inhabitants of Kent island, and scattered jealousies among the natives, persuading them that "the new comers" were Spaniards, and enemies to the Virginians. Having been indicted and found guilty of murder, piracy, and sedition, he fled from justice, and his estate was seized and confiscated. Of these proceedings, which

which he deemed so oppressive, Clayborne complained to his sovereign, and prayed for a confirmation of his former licence, and a grant of other lands adjoining the isle of Kent, with power to govern them. In 1639, the lords commissioners of the colonies, to whom this subject had been referred, determined that the lands in question belonged absolutely to Lord Baltimore; and that no plantation or trade with the Indians, within the limits of his patent, ought to be allowed without his permission. The other complaints made by Clayborne were not deemed proper for the interference of government.

Heretofore, as in the other colonies at their commencement, the whole body of freemen constituted the legislature. But several causes had contributed greatly to increase their numbers. The roman catholics, who fled from the persecutions then experienced in England, sought an asylum in Maryland, and they also received into their bosoms those who were banished by the policy of their sister colonies. While the puritans of New England were employed in coercing conformity to their particular tenets, Virginia retaliated on them by passing severe laws affecting puritans, which induced persons of that persuasion to take refuge in Maryland, where all were permitted to pursue, unmolested, the form of worship dictated by conscience.

An increase of population, and extended settlements, produced their certain consequence. The exercise of the sovereign power by the people themselves, became intolerably burthensome, and the third assembly, which was convened in 1639, passed an act "for establishing the house of assembly." This act declared, that those who should be elected in pursuance of writs issued, should be called burgesses, and should supply the place of freemen who chose them, in the same manner as the representatives in the parliament of England, and with those called by special writ, together with the governor and secretary, should constitute the general assembly; but the two branches of the legislature were to sit in the same chamber. In 1650 this regulation was changed; an act was then passed, declaring, that those who are called by special writ should form the upper house; that those who are chosen by the hundreds should form the lower house; and that bills which should be assented to by both branches of the legislature, and by the governor, should be deemed the laws of the province.

The most perfect harmony subsisted between the proprietary and the people; and Maryland, attentive to its own affairs, remained, without any other interruption than one Indian war, which terminated in the submission of the natives, in a state of increasing prosperity until the civil war broke

broke out in England. The government, like that of Virginia, was attached to the royal cause; but Clayborne, who took part with the parliament, found means to intrigue among the people, and to raise an insurrection in the province. Calvert, the governor, was obliged to fly to Virginia for protection, and the insurgents seized the reins of government. It was not until August in the subsequent year (1641), that the revolt was suppressed and tranquility restored. An act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; but this, like most other insurrections, produced additional burthens on the people, which did not so soon pass away. A duty, for seven years, of ten shillings on every hundred weight of tobacco, exported in Dutch bottoms, was granted to the proprietary, the one half of which was expressly appropriated to satisfy claims, produced by the recovery and defence of the province.

The repose of Maryland was soon disturbed by the superintending care of parliament. In September 1651, commissioners were appointed "for reducing and governing the colonies within the bay of Chessapeake." Among them was Clayborne, the evil genius of the colony. As the proprietary had acknowledged and submitted to the authority of parliament, he was permitted to re-

tain his station and govern as formerly, although in the name of the keepers of liberties of England. It was however impossible that he could long retain the quiet possession of actual authority. The distractions of England having found their way into Maryland, divided the colonists; and the commissioners supported, with their countenance, the faction opposed to the established government.

The contentions, generated by such a state of things, at length broke out into civil war, which terminated in the defeat of the governor and the roman catholics. A new assembly was now convened, which being entirely under the influence of the victorious party, passed an act declaring, that none who professed the popish religion, could be protected in the province by the laws; that such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, although dissenting from the doctrine and discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from the exercise of their religion; provided such liberty was not extended to popery, or prelacy, or to such as, under the profession of Christ, practised licentiousness. Other laws in the same spirit were enacted; and a persecution commenced against the quakers, as well as those guilty of popery and prelacy. A scene of revolutionary turbulence ensued, in the course of which the upper house was resolved to be useless, which continued until the restoration, when Philip Calvert

vert was appointed governor by Lord Baltimore, and the ancient order of things was restored. Notwithstanding the commotions which had agitated the colony for a few years past, it had greatly flouriſhed, and at the restoration its population was estimated at twelve thousand souls.*

* Chalmer.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

First ineffectual attempts of the Plymouth company to settle the country—Settlements at New Plymouth—Sir Henry Rosewell and Co.—New charter—Settlement of the country vigorously prosecuted—Government transferred to the colonists—Boston founded—Religious intolerance—General court established—Commission granted by the crown for the government of the plantations—Contest with the French colony of Acadié—Hugh Peters—Henry Vane—Mrs. Hutchinson and the Antinomians—Maine granted to Gorges—Quo warranto against the patent of the colony—Religious dissensions—Providence settled—Rhode Island settled—Connecticut settled—War with the Piquods—New Haven settled.

WE have seen with what slow and difficult steps the first, or southern colony, although supported by individuals of great wealth and influence in the nation, advanced to a firm and secure establishment. The company for founding the second, or northern colony, to which it will be recollected a charter was at the same time granted, and which was composed of gentlemen residing

ing in Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England, was less wealthy, and possessed fewer resources for the establishment of distant and expensive settlements, than the first company which resided in the capital. Their efforts were consequently more feeble, and less successful, than those which were made in the south.

The first vessel fitted out by the company in 1606, was captured and confiscated by the Spaniards, who, at that time, asserted a right to exclude the ships of all other nations from navigating the American seas. Not discouraged by this misfortune, two other vessels, under the command of Raleigh and Gilbert, having on board about one hundred persons designed to form the proposed settlements, were dispatched the following year, and arriving safely on the American coast in autumn, took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagahadoc, where they built Fort St. George. Their sufferings in that severe climate during the following winter were immense. Many of the company, among whom were Gilbert their admiral, and George Popham their president, sunk under the diseases with which they were attacked, and in the spring the vessel which brought them supplies, brought them also information that their principal patron, Sir John Popham, chief justice of England,

land, was dead. Discouraged by their own losses and sufferings, and by the death of a person on whose active exertions, more than those of any other, they relied for assistance, it was determined to abandon the country, and they embarked on board the vessel then returning to England. The frightful pictures given of the coast, and of the climate, deterred the company for the present from further attempts to make a settlement, and their enterprises were limited to voyages made for the purposes of taking fish and of trading with the natives for their furs. One of these was made in 1614 by Captain Smith, so remarkable in the history of Virginia. He explored with great accuracy that part of the coast which stretches from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and having delineated it in a map, he presented it, with the descriptions dictated by a mind which, however sound, was enthusiastic and sanguine, to Charles Prince of Wales, who was so pleased with the country, that it was denominated New England, which name it has ever since retained.

The languishing company of Plymouth could not be stimulated to engage in further schemes of colonization, the advantages of which were distant and uncertain, while the expence was immediate and inevitable. To accident, and to a stronger motive than even interest, a motive found

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to be among the most powerful which can influence the human mind, is New England indebted for its first settlement.

An obscure sect, which had acquired the appellation of Brownists from the name of its founder, and which had rendered itself peculiarly obnoxious by the democracy of its tenets respecting church government, had been driven by persecution to take refuge at Leyden, in Holland, where its members formed a distinct society, under the care of their pastor, Mr. John Robinson. There they resided several years in safe obscurity. This situation at length became irksome to them. Without persecution to give importance to the particular points which separated them from their other christian brethren, they made no converts; and their children were drawn from them by intermarriages in Dutch families, and by engaging in the Dutch service. They saw before them with extreme apprehension the prospect of losing their separate identity, and becoming entirely Dutch. In the extinction of their church they dreaded too the loss of those high attainments in spiritual knowledge which they deemed so favourable to truth. The laxity of exterior manners too, which prevailed among their neighbours, so contrary to the strict sanctity of the Brownists, added its influence to the more powerful considerations which

which have been stated, and produced the determination of removing in a body to America.

In 1618 they applied to the London company for a grant of lands, and, to promote the success of their application by impressing the certainty of their emigration, they say, "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. That it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." The only privilege on which they insisted, was a licence under the great seal to practise and profess religion in that mode which, under the impulse of conscience, they had adopted. This reasonable and modest request was refused. James had already established the church of England in Virginia, and although he promised to connive at their nonconformity, and not to molest them while they demeaned themselves peaceably, yet he positively refused to give them that explicit and solemn pledge of security which they required. This, for a short time, suspended their removal; but the cause of their discontent in Holland continuing, they at length

length determined to trust to the verbal declarations of the king, and immediately negociated with the Virginia company for a tract of land within the limits of their patent.*

In September 1620, they sailed from England, with only one hundred and twenty men, in a single ship. Their destination was Hudson's river, but the pilot on board being a Dutchman, is said to have been bribed by his countrymen, who were themselves desirous of occupying that territory, to carry them so far to the north, that the first land they made was Cape Cod. They soon perceived that they were not only beyond their own limits, but beyond those of the company from which they derived their title; but it was now the month of November, and too late in the season for men unacquainted with the country, and afflicted with disease, again to put to sea in search of a new habitation. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a convenient position, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth. On the 11th of November, before they landed, a solemn covenant was signed by the heads of families, and freemen, in which, after reciting that they had undertaken to plant a colony for the glory of God, and for the honour of their

* Robinson.

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king and country; and professing their loyalty to their sovereign lord King James; they combined themselves into a body politic, for the purpose of making equal laws for the general good.

Having thus by common consent formed a compact, the obligation of which all admitted, they proceeded to the choice of a governor for one year, and to enable him the better to discharge the important trust confided to him, they gave him one assistant. In 1624, three others were added, and the number was afterwards increased to seven. The supreme power resided in the whole body of the male inhabitants, and during the infancy of the colony was exercised by them. They assembled together, occasionally, to determine on all subjects of a public concern, nor was it until the year 1639 that they established a house of representatives. They adopted, as a common rule of action, the laws of England; adding occasionally, municipal regulations, in cases to which the laws they had adopted, either did not completely apply, or did not, in their opinion, furnish the most perfect rule of conduct. Some of the changes in their penal code strongly mark their character and circumstances. While on forgery (which in large commercial societies is pursued with so much rigour,) was inflicted only a moderate fine; fornication was punished with whipping, and adultery with death.

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Misguided by their religious theories, they fell into the same error which had been committed in Virginia, and, in imitation of the primitive christians, threw all their property into a common stock, laboured jointly for the common benefit, and were fed from the common stores. This regulation produced, even in this small and enthusiastic society, its constant effect; they were often in danger of starving, and severe whipping, administered to promote labour, only produced discontent.

The season of the year in which the colonists landed was extremely unfavourable to the establishment of a new settlement. The winter, which was much more severe than they expected, had already set in, and they were but very badly supplied with the means of obtaining comfort, or even subsistence. Before the return of spring, about fifty of their small company perished with maladies, increased by the hardships to which they were exposed, the scarcity of food, and the almost total privation of those comforts to which they had been accustomed, and which are so necessary to support the human frame struggling with disease. The survivors, as the season moderated, had new difficulties to encounter. They were compelled, instead of attending uninterruptedly to the means of providing for their future wants, to take up arms to defend them-

selves against the neighbouring savages. Fortunately for the colonists, the natives had been so wasted the preceding year by pestilence, that they were easily subdued, and compelled to accept a peace, which was offered them on equitable terms. Nothing could have supported the English under these accumulated distresses, but the hope of better times, and that high gratification which is derived from the complete enjoyment of the rights of conscience, and the full exercise of all the powers of self government. They received occasional, but scanty supplies from their friends in England, and continued with a patient and persevering spirit to struggle against the difficulties which surrounded them. They remained in peace, and were alike exempt from the notice or oppressions of government. Yet their soil being uninviting, and the pernicious policy of a community of goods and of labour, so unfavourable to population, being for some few years adhered to, they increased more slowly than any other of the colonies, and in the year 1630, amounted only to three hundred souls. Until this period they possessed no other title to their lands, than is afforded by occupancy. In that year they obtained a grant of property from the New Plymouth company, but were never incorporated as a body politic by royal charter. Having derived no powers from the parliament or king,

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and being totally disregarded by the Plymouth company, they appear to have remained a mere voluntary association, yielding obedience to laws, and to magistrates, formed and chosen by themselves. In this situation they continued undisturbed and almost unknown, more tolerant and more moderate than their neighbours, until their union with a younger, and more powerful sister, who with a frame more hardy and robust, advanced with strides unusually rapid to a state of maturity.

The original company of Plymouth, having done nothing effectual towards settling the territory which had been granted to them, and being interfered with by individuals in their trade and fisheries, applied to James for a new, and more enlarged patent. After much solicitation, he, on the 3d of November 1620, granted that territory which lies between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude to the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Buckingham, and several others, in absolute property, and incorporated them under the name of "The Council established at Plymouth for planting and governing that country called New England;" with jurisdiction and powers similar to those which had before been conferred on the companies of South and North Virginia, and especially that of excluding all other persons whatever

ever from trading within their boundaries, and fishing in the neighbouring seas. This improvident grant, which excited the indignation of the people of England, then deeply interested in the fur trade and fisheries, soon engaged the attention, and received the censure of parliament. The patentees were compelled to relinquish their odious monopoly, and, being thus deprived of the funds on which they had relied to enable them to encounter the expence of supporting new settlements, they abandoned entirely the design of attempting them. New England might have remained long unoccupied, had not the same causes which occasioned the emigration of the Brownists, still continued to operate. The persecutions to which the puritans were exposed, increased their zeal and their numbers. Despairing of obtaining at home a relaxation of those rigorous penal statutes under which they had so long smarted, they began to look elsewhere for that toleration which was denied them in their native land. Understanding that their brethren in New Plymouth were permitted to worship their Creator according to the dictates of conscience, their attention was directed towards the same coast, and several small emigrations were made at different times to Massachussett's-bay, so termed from the name of the sachem who was sovereign of the country; and grants of land were made

made to the emigrants, the conditions of which having probably never been complied with, they were afterwards totally disregarded.

Mr. White, a nonconformist minister at Dorchester, who had prevented some few of his countrymen settled around the bay of Massachussetts from returning to England, by his assurance of procuring them relief and assistance, formed by great exertions an association of several gentlemen who had imbibed puritanical opinions, for the purpose of conducting thither a colony, and rendering it an asylum for the persecuted of his own persuasion. In prosecution of these views a treaty was concluded with the council of Plymouth, for the purchase of part of New England; and that corporation, in March 1627, conveyed to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, all that part of New England lying three miles to the south of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrimack river, and extending from the Atlantic to the South Sea. A small number of planters and servants were soon afterwards dispatched under Endicot, a deep enthusiast, who, in September 1628, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town of Massachussetts.*

The purchasers soon perceived their total in-

* Hutch. Chal. Rob.

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ability to accomplish the settlement of the extensive regions they had acquired, without the aid of more opulent partners. These were soon found in the capital; but they insisted that a new charter should be obtained from the crown, in which their names should be inserted, confirming the grant of the council of Plymouth, and conferring on them the powers of government. Notwithstanding the lessons which had been given by Virginia, they likewise required that the supreme authority should be vested in persons residing in London; thus adding one other evidence to those which the history of the world continues to furnish, of the truth of the assertion, that man will seldom be taught by the experience of others. To these requisitions the proprietors without hesitation acceded, and Charles was applied to for a patent conforming to them, which issued on the 4th of March 1628.*

This charter incorporated the grantees by the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachussetts-bay in New England."

The whole executive power was vested in a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named in the first instance by the crown, and afterwards elected by the company.

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The governor and seven or more assistants were authorized to meet in monthly courts, for the dispatch of such business as concerned the company or settlement. The legislative power was vested in the body of the proprietors, who were all to assemble four times a year in person under the denomination of the general court; and besides electing freemen and other necessary officers of the company, were empowered to make ordinances for the good of the community and the government of the plantation and its inhabitants, provided they should not be repugnant to the laws of England. Their lands were to be holden in free and common soccage, and the same temporary exemption from taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported, was obtained, as had been granted to the colony of Virginia: as in the charter of Virginia, so in this, the colonists and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born subjects.*

The patent being obtained, the governor and council began with ardour to give effect to the views of the grantees. A fresh embarkation was determined on, to support the expences of which, it was resolved, that every person subscribing fifty pounds should be entitled to two hundred acres

* Rob. Chal. Hutch.

of land as the first dividend. Five vessels were procured, which sailed from the Isle of Wight in May 1629, carrying about two hundred persons, with such articles as were proper for making a new settlement. In June they reached Salem, where they found Endicot, to whom they brought the confirmation of his commission as governor. The colony now consisted of three hundred persons, of whom one hundred removed to Charlestown, and the remainder continued at Salem.

Religion having stimulated them to emigrate from their native land, constituted the first object of their care in the country they had adopted. Being zealous puritans, they concurred in the institution of a church, in which was established that form of policy, which was believed best to agree with the divine will as revealed in the scriptures, and which has since been denominated independent. A confession of faith was drawn up, to which the majority signified their assent; and an association was then formed, in which they covenant with the Lord and with each other, to walk together in all his ways as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them. Pastors and other ecclesiastical officers were chosen, who were installed into their sacred offices, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

A church being thus formed, several were received as members, who gave an account of their faith

faith and hope as christians; and those only were admitted into the communion, whose morals and religious tenets were approved by the elders. From the form of public worship which was instituted, they discarded the liturgy as well as all ceremonies deemed useless, and reduced it to the lowest standard of Calvinistic simplicity.

Pleased with the work of their hands, and believing themselves to be perfect, they could not tolerate a different opinion in others. Just escaped from persecution, they demonstrated that it was not the principle, but its application which they condemned, and became persecutors themselves. Some few of their number attached to the ritual of the church of England, were dissatisfied with its total abolition, and withdrawing from communion with the church, met apart to worship God in the manner they deemed most proper. At the head of this small party were two of the first patentees and of the council. These were called before the governor, who being of opinion that their nonconformity and conversation tended to sedition, sent them to England. Deprived of their leaders, the opposition ceased.*

The ensuing winter brought with it the calamities which had been uniformly sustained by the

* Hutch. Chal. Rob.

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first emigrants into a wilderness, where the cold was extreme, and the privations almost universal. In the course of it, nearly half their number perished, "lamenting that they did not live to see the rising and glories of the faithful." The fortitude however of the survivors was not shaken, nor were their brethren in England deterred from joining them. Religion supported the colonists under all their difficulties; and the then intolerant spirit of English hierarchy, at the head of which was placed the rigid Laud, exacting a strict conformity to its ceremonies, diminished, in the view of the puritans in England, the dangers and the sufferings to be encountered in America, and disposed them to forego every other human enjoyment, for the consoling privilege of worshipping the Supreme Being according to their own opinions. Many persons of fortune had determined to seek, in the new world, that liberty of conscience which was denied them in the old; but foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in England, they demanded, as a previous condition to their emigration, that the power of government should be transferred to New England, and be exercised in the colony. The company had already incurred expences for which they saw no prospect of a speedy retribution, and although they doubted the legality of the measure, were well disposed to obtain

tain such important aid by embracing it. A general court was therefore convened, by whom it was unanimously resolved "that the patent should be transferred, and the government of the corporation removed from London to Massachussetts-bay." It was also agreed that the members of the corporation remaining in England, should retain a share in the trading stock and profits for the term of seven years.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, such great exertions for emigration were made, that early in the following year, fifteen hundred persons, among whom were several of family and fortune, embarked on board seventeen vessels at an expence of upwards of twenty thousand pounds, and arrived at Salem in July. Dissatisfied with this situation, they explored the country in quest of better stations, and settling in many places around the bay, they laid the foundations of several towns, and among others of Boston.*

The difficulty of obtaining subsistence, the difference of their food from that to which they had been accustomed, the extreme cold of winter, against which they had not sufficient means of protection, were still severely felt by the colonists, and still continued to carry many of them to the

* Hutch. Chal.

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grave; but that enthusiasm, which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force, and they met, with a firm unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them. Our admiration of their fortitude and of their principles sustains, however, no inconsiderable diminution, from observing the severity with which they denied to others, that civil and religious liberty which through so many dangers and hardships they sought, with such laudable zeal, for themselves. At a meeting of their general court early in the year 1631, it was decreed that none should be admitted as freemen, or permitted to vote at elections, or be capable of being chosen as magistrates, or of serving as jurymen, but such as had been received in the church as members. Thus did men who had braved every hardship for freedom of conscience deprive, without reluctance, of the choicest rights of humanity, all those who dissented from the opinion of the majority on any article of faith, or point of church discipline.

The numerous complaints of the severities exercised by the government of Massachussetts, which were made by persons expelled for nonconformity in matters of religion, and by many dissatisfied by other means, added to the immense emigration of persons noted for their enthusiasm, and for their hostility to the existing system in England, seem at length to have made some

some impression on Charles; and on the 21st of February 1633, an order was made by the king in council to stop the ships at that time ready to sail, freighted with passengers and provisions for New England. This order, however, seems never to have been strictly executed, as the emigrations still continued without any sensible diminution.

Hitherto the legislature had been composed of the whole body of the freemen. Under this system, so favourable to the views of the few who possess popular influence, the real power of the state had been chiefly engrossed by the governor and assistants, aided by the clergy. The emigrations, however, had already been very considerable, and the settlements, in consequence of the depopulation of the surrounding country by the small-pox, which, sweeping off whole tribes, left a great extent of vacant lands, had become so extensive, that it was found extremely inconvenient, if not impracticable, longer to preserve a principle which their charter enjoined. In the succeeding year, 1634, therefore, as it were by common consent, the people elected delegates, who met the governor and council, and constituted the general court. This important and necessary improvement in their system, rendered familiar and probably suggested by the practice in the mother country of delegating legislative power to representatives, although not authorized by their

their charter, remained unaltered so long as that charter was permitted to exist.*

The colony of Massachussetts, having been settled by men whose political as well as religious opinions were strongly tinctured with the spirit of republicanism, had been conducted, from its commencement, very much on the plan of an independent society. It at length attracted the particular notice of the jealous administration in England, and in April a commission for "the regulation and government of the plantations" was issued to the great officers of state, and to some of the nobility, in which was granted absolute power to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to others, "to make laws and constitutions concerning either their state public, or the utility of individuals." The commissioners were authorized to support the clergy, by assigning them "tithes, oblations, and other profits, according to their discretion; to inflict punishment on those who should violate their ordinances; to remove governors of plantations, and to appoint others; and to constitute tribunals, and courts of justice, ecclesiastical and civil, with such authority and form as they should think proper;" but their laws were not to take effect until they had received the royal assent, and been proclaimed in the colonies. The commis-

* Hutch. Chal. Rob.

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sioners were also constituted a committee to hear complaints against a colony, its governor, or other officers, with power to remove the offender for punishment to England. They were further directed to cause the revocation of such letters patent, granted for the establishment of colonies, as should, upon enquiry, be found to have been unduly obtained, or to contain a grant of liberties hurtful to the prerogative royal.

From their first settlement at Salem, the colony of Massachussetts had cultivated the friendship of their neighbours of New Plymouth. The bonds of mutual amity were now rendered more strict, not only by some threatening appearances of a hostile disposition among the natives, but from another circumstance which excited, in both colonies, considerable alarm.

The voyages of discovery, and for settlements, made by the English and French to the coast of North America, had been nearly cotemporaneous, and of consequence they set up conflicting claims to the territory. In 1603, Henry IV. of France granted to De Monts a commission, as lieutenant general over that part of America which lies between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude, with powers to colonize and to rule it; and in 1606, King James granted to the two Virginia companies, all that territory which lies between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north

north latitude; in consequence of which Captain Argal, in 1614, attacked, and, for the moment, dispersed the settlements made by the French on the bay of Fundy. In 1620, James granted to the Plymouth company, all that territory which lies between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude; and in 1621, he, as king of Scotland, granted to Sir William Alexander, under the title of Nova Scotia, with the consent of the Plymouth company, the country bounded on the north, and east, and south, by the river St. Lawrence and the ocean, and on the west by the river St. Croix. Under these different grants, actual settlements had been made by the French as far south and west as St. Croix, and by the English as far north and east as Penobscot. During the war with France, which broke out in the reign of Charles I., that monarch granted a commission to Captain Kirk for the conquest of the countries in America occupied by the French, and under that commission Canada and Acadié were subdued; but, by the treaty concluded at St. Germain's, those places were restored to France, generally, without describing their limits; and Fort Royal, Quebec, and Cape Breton, were severally surrendered by name. In 1632, a party of French from Acadié, whether with or without authority from government seems not to have been ascertained, committed a robbery on a trading house established

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ed in 1627 by the people of New Plymouth at Penobscot; with the intelligence of this fact, information was also brought that Cardinal Richlieu had ordered some companies to that station, and that more were expected the next year, with priests, jesuits, and other formidable accompaniments, for a permanent settlement. It was immediately determined to complete a fort which had been commenced at Boston, and to build some other for the defence of that part of the country where encroachment from the French was most dreaded. Notwithstanding this robbery, the company still retained possession of the fort, and continued to carry on their trade with the Indians until the year 1635, when they were dispossessed by a military force detached by Rossillon, commander of a French fort at la Have, in Acadié, who, at the same time, wrote to the governor of the colony, stating that he had orders to displace all the English as far as Pemaquid. The government of New Plymouth was not disposed to submit quietly to this invasion of territory, and hired, for an expedition undertaken for the recovery of the fort at Penobscot, an English ship of war, under the command of Captain Girling, to which they joined an auxiliary force of a bark, and twenty men belonging to the colony. They stipulated to pay him two hundred pounds on his dislodging the French from the place; but, having notice of

the armament coming against them, they prepared for its reception by fortifying and strengthening the fort; in consequence of which Girling, after expending his ammunition, and finding himself too weak to attempt to carry the works by assault, sent the bark, accompanied with two of the people of Plymouth, to solicit the aid of Massachussetts. The court agreed to assist their neighbours with a hundred men, and to bear the expence of the expedition by private subscription among their own body; but provisions were so scarce, that a sufficient supply, even for this small corps, could not be immediately obtained. In consequence of this circumstance, the expedition was abandoned for the present; Girling returned, and the French retained possession of the station until 1654. The apprehensions entertained of these formidable neighbours contributed, in no small degree, to cement the union between Massachussetts and Plymouth.

Two persons, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in English annals, arrived in 1635 at Boston. One was Hugh Peters, the coadjutor and chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other Mr. Henry Vane, the son of Sir Henry Vane, who was at that time a privy counsellor of great credit with the king. So forcible was the influence of the political, and perhaps religious opinions then maintained by the puritans on the mind of this young gentleman,

gentleman, that he appeared ready to sacrifice, for their gratification, all the enjoyments which awaited him, and all his high expectations in his native land. His mortified exterior, his grave and solemn deportment, although not more than twenty-five years of age, his reputation for piety and wisdom, his strong professions of attachment to liberty, and to the public interest, added to his attention to some of the leading members in the church, won rapidly the affections of the people, and the year after his arrival he was, with general approbation, chosen their governor. His administration commenced with more external pomp than had been usual, or would seem to be congenial with the plain and simple manners of the people he governed. When going to court, or church, he was always preceded by two sergeants, who walked with their halberts; yet his popularity sustained no diminution, until the part he took in the religious controversies of the country detached from him many of its most judicious and influential inhabitants.

Independent of the meetings for public worship on every Sunday; of the stated lecture in Boston on every Thursday; and of occasional lectures in other towns; there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman of deep enthusiasm, and of considerable eloquence, who had

been much flattered by the attentions of the governor, and of Mr. Cotton, one of the most influential of the clergy, and whose husband was among the most respected men in the country, dissatisfied with the exclusion of her sex from the private meetings of the brethren, instituted a meeting of the sisters also, in which she repeated the sermons of the preceding Sunday, accompanied with such remarks and expositions as she deemed pertinent. These meetings were attended by a large number of the most respectable of her sex; her lectures were much spoken of, and, for a time, very generally approved. At length she drew a marked distinction between the ministers and members of churches through the country. A small number she designated as being under a covenant of grace; the others as being under a covenant of works. Contending for the necessity of the former, she maintained that sanctity of life is no evidence of justification, or of favour with God; and that the Holy Ghost dwells personally in such as are justified. The whole colony was divided into two parties, equally positive on these abstruse points, whose resentments against each other threatened the most serious calamities. Mr. Vane espoused, with zeal, the wildest doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Cotton decidedly favoured them. The lieutenant-governor, Mr. Winthrop, and the majority of the churches, were of the opposite

posite party. Many conferences were held; days of fasting and humiliation were appointed; a general synod was called; and, after the most violent dissensions, Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and she herself banished. Many of her disciples followed her. Vane, in disgust, quitted America, unlamented even by those who had lately so much admired him. He was considered by those sober, practical people, as being too visionary, and is said to have been too deep an enthusiast, even for the enthusiasts of that day in Massachussetts.*

It has been stated that the council of Plymouth, deprived of the monopoly of the fisheries and fur trade, were unwilling to engage with their own funds, in the expensive enterprise of establishing colonies in the extensive territories they held in America. There remaining no common object to prosecute, the patentees resolved to divide their lands. In the presence of James, they cast lots for the shares which each should hold in severalty, under the expectation of receiving from their sovereign a deed of confirmation for the particular portion which fortune should allot to each. They continued, however, to act for some years longer as a body politic, during which time they granted various portions of the country to

* Hutch. Chal. Rob.

different persons, many of whom made settlements on their respective purchases. They executed, under the seal of the corporation, deeds of feoffment for the lots drawn by each member of the company, patents of confirmation for which were solicited from the crown; but seem only to have been granted to Gorges for the province of Maine. Early in 1635, the charter, with every right and demand of the company, was surrendered to the king; and in June, the act of surrender passed under the great seal, and was immediately accepted by the prince.

Charles had long resolved to take the government of New England entirely into his own hands. In pursuance of this determination, he had, in 1635, issued the commission already mentioned for the regulation and government of the plantations. In 1637 he issued a proclamation, directing that none should be transported thither who had not the special licence of the government, and that this should be granted only to those who had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and had conformed to the discipline of the church of England. This order, however, from its real difficulty, could not be completely executed; and the emigrations, which were entirely of nonconformists, still continued. So high in estimation, among those who were disgusted with the ceremonials so rigidly exacted in England, was the simple

simple frame of church policy established in Massachusssetts, that crowds surmounted every difficulty, to seek an asylum in this New Jerusalem. Among them were found persons of the first political influence and mental attainments of their country. Pym, Hampden, Hazlerig, and Cromwell, with many others who, afterwards, performed a conspicuous part in that revolution which brought the head of Charles to the block, are said to have been actually on board a vessel prepared to sail for New England, and to have been stopped by the special orders of the privy council.

The commission for the regulation and government of the plantations conceiving the administration of the colony to have been in violation of its charter, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued, and judgment was given, that the liberties of Massachussetts shall be seized into the hands which conferred them, because they had been improperly exercised. This judgment was probably not final, and none of the corporation in New England were served with the process. The privy council, however, ordered the governor and company to send their patent to England to be delivered up. This order the general court answered in September, 1638, by a petition to the commissioners, in which they say, "We dare not question your lordships' proceedings in requiring our patent to

be sent unto you; we only desire to open our griefs, and if in any thing we have offended his majesty or your lordships, we humbly prostrate ourselves at the footstool of supreme authority; we are sincerely ready to yield all due obedience to both; we are not conscious that we have offended in any thing, as our government is according to law: we pray that we may be heard before condemnation, and that we may be suffered to live in the wilderness.'* Fortunately for the colonists, the attention of Charles and of his commissioners began now to be too much occupied with affairs at home, to enable them to carry into complete execution, a system aimed at the subversion of every thing dear to the American heart.

To the religious dissensions which distracted Massachussetts, and to the rigour with which conformity was exacted, is, in a great measure, to be attributed the first settlement of the other colonies of New England. So early as the year 1634, Roger Williams, a very popular preacher at Salem, who had refused to hold communion with the church of Boston, because its members refused to make a public declaration of their repentance for having held communion with the church of England during their residence in that country, was charged with many exceptionable

* Hume. Hutch. Chal. Rob.

tenets.

tenets. Among several which were condemned, and which mark his wild enthusiasm, we are surprised to find one in total opposition, not only to the spirit of the times, but to the severity of his other doctrines. He maintained, that to punish a man for any matter of conscience is persecution; and that even papists and arminians are entitled to freedom of conscience in worship, provided only the peace of civil society be secured. The divines of Massachussetts opposed this doctrine, by contending that they did not persecute men for conscience, but corrected them for sinning against conscience; and so they did not persecute, but punish heretics. This unintelligible sophism having no effect upon Williams, he was for this, and for his other heresies, banished by the magistrates from their jurisdiction, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth.

Many of his disciples followed him into exile, and travelling south until they passed the line of Massachussetts, they purchased a tract of land of the Mariaghansetts, then a powerful tribe of Indians, where, in 1635, they made a settlement, to which they gave the name of Providence. Having fixed the place of their future residence, they entered into a voluntary association, and framed a government composed of the whole body of freemen, for the preservation of peace, and the making of such laws as their situation might

might require. They created a church after the manner of Massachussetts, by collecting a religious society; but as one of the causes of their migration had been the tenet, that all were entitled to freedom of conscience in worship, the most entire toleration in matters of religion was established. These new settlers cultivated with assiduity the good will of the aborigines, and, at Providence, Williams long retained his authority, employing himself continually in acts of kindness, affording relief to the distressed, and an asylum to the persecuted.

It was not long after the banishment of Williams, that the controversy between those who maintained "the covenant of works," and those who maintained "the covenant of grace," divided and distracted Massachussetts. This controversy having been decided in 1637 against the antinomians, or those who supported the covenant of grace, and Mrs. Hutchinson, the leader of that sect, being banished, she, with many of her disciples, followed the steps of Williams, and, arriving in his neighbourhood, purchased a tract of land from the same tribe, where they founded Rhode Island. Imitating the conduct of their neighbours, they founded a similar association for the establishment of civil government, and adopting the same principles of toleration, they afforded protection to all who resorted thither.

In

In consequence of this conduct, the island soon became so populous as to send out colonists to the adjacent shores.

Connecticut too is a colony of Massachussetts. So early as the year 1634, several persons, among whom was Mr. Hooker, one of the favourite ministers of the church, who was only inferior in influence to Mr. Cotton, applied to the general court of Massachussetts, for permission to go in quest of new adventures in a better land. That body was divided, and permission was not at that time obtained. It being then the received opinion, that the inhabitants were all mutually bound to each other by the oath of a freeman, as well as the original compact, so as not to be at liberty to separate without the consent of the whole, this emigration was for the present suspended. The general court, however, did not long withhold its assent. The country having been explored, and a place chosen on the west side of the great river Connecticut, a commission was granted to the petitioners, to remove whereever they chose; but on the condition of their still continuing under the jurisdiction of Massachussetts. Some few huts had been erected the preceding year, in which a small number of emigrants had wintered, and the fall succeeding the permit to settle the country, about sixty persons traversed the wilderness in families, and encountered immense distress. In 1636, about one hundred

dred persons, led by Pynchon, Hooker, and Haynes, followed the first emigrants, and founded the towns of Hartford, Springfield, and Wetherfield. There are some peculiarities attending this commission, and this settlement, which deserve to be noticed.

The country to be settled was confessedly, and it is so stated in the commission, without the limits of Massachussetts; yet Roger Ludlow was empowered to promulgate the orders which might be necessary for the plantation; to inflict corporal punishment, imprisonment, and fines; to determine all differences in a judicial way; and to convene the inhabitants in a general court, if it should be necessary. This signal exercise of authority has been, in some degree, justified by the principle solemnly asserted by the general court of Massachussetts, that the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth was binding, although the person should no longer reside within its limits. However true this principle may be in itself, to a certain extent, it seems scarcely to warrant the inference which was, in this instance, drawn from it.

There were other difficulties attending the title of the settlers. The Dutch at Manhadoes, or New York, claimed a right to the river, which they asserted themselves to have first discovered, and to which they had given the name of Fresh River. In addition to this hostile title, Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, with some others, contemplating, at one time, a retreat in the new world

world from the despotism with which England was threatened, had made choice of Connecticut river for that purpose; and had built a fort at its mouth, which they had named Saybrooke.* The emigrants from Massachussetts, however, kept possession; and proceeded to clear and cultivate the country. They purchased the rights of Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, and their partners; and the Dutch being too feeble to go to war, gradually receded from Connecticut river. Disclaiming the authority of Massachussetts, the emigrants entered into a voluntary association for the establishment of a government for themselves, which, in its frame, was like those adopted in the first instance throughout New England. The most material point of variance between their constitution and that of Massachussetts was, that they did not deprive of the right of freemen those who were not members of the church.†

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* Mr. Trumbull states this fort to have been erected by Mr. Winthrop, who was dispatched for the purpose by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, and others, the grantees from the Plymouth company, and who fortunately took possession of the mouth of Connecticut river just in time to prevent its being seized by the Dutch, who had detached a vessel from Manhadoes for that purpose.

† All the powers of government, for nearly three years, seem to have been in the magistrates, of whom two were appointed in each town. These gave all orders, and directed all

These new establishments gave great and just alarm to the Piquods, a very powerful tribe of Indians, situated on the south of the Massachusetts. They clearly foresaw their own ruin in this extension of the English settlements; and the disposition excited by this apprehension soon displayed itself in private murders, and various other acts of hostility. With a policy suggested by a strong sense of danger, they sought a reconciliation with the Narraghansetts, their ancient enemies and rivals in power. They requested these people to forget their long cherished animosities, and to cooperate cordially with them against a common enemy, whose continuing encroachments threatened to overwhelm both with one common destruction. They marked to them the rapid progress of the English settlements, and urged, with great reason, that although a present friendship subsisted between them and the new comers, yet all in their turn must be dispossessed of their country, and they could hope, from that friendship, no other good than the wretched privilege of being last devoured.

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all the affairs of the plantation. The freemen appear to have had no voice in making the laws, or in any part of the government, except in some instances of general and uncommon concern. In these instances committees were sent from the several towns. During this term it seems that juries were not employed in any case.

These

These judicious representations of the Piquods could not efface from the bosoms of the Narraghansetts that deep rooted enmity which neighbours not accustomed to consider themselves as possessing one common interest, and not bound together by ligaments of sufficient strength to prevent reciprocal acts of hostility, so often feel for each other. Dreading still less the power of a foreign nation than that of men with whom they had been in the habit of contending, they not only refused to join the Piquods, but communicated their proposition to the government of Massachussetts, with which they formed an alliance against that tribe. Open war being now resolved on by both parties, Captain Underhill was sent to the relief of Fort Saybrooke, which had been besieged by the enemy; and the three colonies, Massachussetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to march with united forces the next year into the country of the Piquods, in order to effect their utter destruction. Connecticut being most exposed to the enemy, the troops of that colony were first in motion. Those of Massachussetts were detained by the controversy concerning the covenant of works and of grace, which had insinuated itself into all the transactions of that colony. Their little army, when collected, in 1637, found itself divided by this metaphysical point, and the stronger party believing that the blessing of God could

could not be expected to crown with success the arms of such unhallowed men, as they deemed their opponents in faith on this question, refused to march until their small band was purified, by introducing, in place of the unclean, others whose tenets were unexceptionable.

In the mean time the troops of Connecticut being joined by a body of friendly Indians, and reinforced by a small detachment from Saybrooke, determined to march against the enemy. The Piquods had taken two positions, which they had surrounded with palisadoes, and resolved to defend. In one of them was Sassacus himself, their chief sachem, and the other was on a rising ground, surrounded by the head of Mystic river. Against the fort commanded by Sassacus the first attack was intended to be made; but some of the troops becoming lame, and all very much fatigued with the march, the original plan was changed, and it was determined to attack Fort Mystic, which was eight miles nearer than that commanded by Sassacus. By an Indian they obtained the information that the enemy, deceived by the movement of their vessels from Saybrooke to Narraghansetts, believed the expedition to have been abandoned, and were celebrating in perfect security, on a large quantity of bass they had taken, the supposed evacuation of their country. About day-break, while in deep and secure sleep, they were approached

proached by the English, and the surprise would have been complete, had they not been alarmed by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately raised, and they flew, undismayed, to such arms as they possessed. The English rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisadoes, others forced their way through the works, and set fire to their wigwams, which were covered with reeds. The confusion soon became universal, and almost the whole party were either killed or taken.*

Soon after this action, the troops from Massachussetts arrived, and it was resolved to pursue their victory. Several skirmishes took place, which terminated unfavourably for the Piquods; and, in a short time, another total defeat was given them, which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the English, dispersed themselves among the neighbouring tribes, and were incorporated with them.

This first essay in arms of the New England colonists was conducted with vigour and ability, and impressed on the aborigines a high opinion of their courage and military superiority; but their victory was sullied with cruelties, which

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Hutch. Rob. Trum.

cannot be recollected without mingled regret and censure.

Immediately after the termination of this war, New Haven was settled.

A small emigration, conducted from England by Eaton and Davenport, arrived at Boston in June. Unwilling to remain under a government where power and influence were already in the hands of others, they refused to continue within the jurisdiction of Massachussetts; and, notwithstanding the opposition and threats at Manhadoes, settled themselves at a place on Connecticut river, which they named New Haven. Their institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, were in the same spirit with those of their elder sister Massachussetts.*

The colony was now in a very flourishing condition. It is computed that from its first settlement there had arrived at Massachussetts twenty-one thousand two hundred persons. Although its inhabitants, who had emigrated in search of civil and religious liberty, devoted a great part of their attention to those abstruse points of theology which so much employed the casuists of that day, yet they were by no means unmindful of those solid acquisitions which were so necessary for their comfort while they sojourned in this

* Hutch. Chal. Rob.

sublunary

sublunary world. Sober, industrious, and economical, they laboured indefatigably in opening and improving the country they occupied, and were unremitting in their efforts to furnish themselves with those supplies which are to be drawn from the bosom of the earth. Of these they soon raised a surplus, for which fresh emigrants offered a ready and a profitable market; and their foreign trade in lumber, a business at first accessory to the clearing of their lands, furnished them, in addition to their fish and fur, with the means of making remittances to England for those manufactures which they found it advantageous to import from that country. Their fisheries had become so important as to attract the attention of government. For their encouragement, a law was this year passed, exempting property employed in catching, curing, or transporting fish, from all duties and taxes; and the fishermen and shipbuilders from militia duty. By the same law, too, all persons were restrained from using cod or bass fish for manure.

CHAPTER IV.

Massachussetts claims New Hampshire and part of Maine—Dissensions among the inhabitants—Confederation of the New England colonies—Rhode Island excluded from it—Separate chambers provided for the two branches of the legislature—New England takes part with parliament—Treaty between New England and Acadié—Petition of the nonconformists—Disputes between Massachussetts and Connecticut—War between England and Holland—Machinations of the Dutch at Manhadoes among the Indians—Massachussetts refuses to join with the united colonies in the war—Application of New Haven to Cromwell for assistance—Peace with the Dutch.—Expedition of Sedgwic against Acadié—Religious intolerance.

RENDERED sanguine with respect to their future importance, by the rapidity with which they had attained their present growth, the government of Massachussetts, in 1639, set on foot an enquiry respecting the extent of their patent; and for this purpose deputed persons to explore the Merrimack and to ascertain its northernmost point. Their charter granted them the lands within lines drawn three English miles south of Charles river, and the same distance south of the Merrimack. They construed this description as authorizing a line to be drawn due

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east from a point three miles north of the head of Merrimack, which soon leaves that river, and includes within Massachussetts, all New Hampshire, and a considerable part of Maine. Having come to this exposition of their charter, they declared New Hampshire, in which there were a few scattered habitations, to be within their jurisdiction, and proceeded to authorize settlements in that country.

Although very early attempts had been made to colonize the northern or eastern parts of New England, those attempts had hitherto proved almost entirely unsuccessful.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, who had exerted themselves more than any other of the Plymouth company to effect the objects of their grant, had built a small house at the mouth of the Piscataqua, some time about the year 1623; and about the same time others erected a few huts along the coast from Merrimack eastward to Sagadahock, for the purpose of fishing. But all these settlements remained extremely inconsiderable. In 1631, Gorges and Mason sent over a small colony of planters and fishermen, under the conduct of a Mr. Williams, who laid the foundation of Portsmouth. Afterwards, when the Plymouth company divided New England among its members, that territory lying along the coast from Merrimack river, near the northern boundary of Massachussetts, and for sixty miles into the country

of the river Piscataqua, was granted to Mason, and was called New Hampshire; that territory northeastward of New Hampshire, to the river Kennebec, and sixty miles into the country, was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges: afterwards, in 1639, a patent for this district, under the name of Maine, was obtained by Gorges, and in this patent, the lands for one hundred instead of sixty miles into the country, were conceded to him, with the powers of sovereignty over the territory granted. He framed a system of government, but it was purely executive, neither calculated to rescue the province from that state of imbecility in which it was languishing, nor to engage the attachment of the few inhabitants who remained in the country. The government could not even preserve its own being: and after struggling with a long course of confusion, and drawing out for several years a miserable political existence, they at length submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachussetts, and consented to become a part of that colony. In the course of the years 1651 and 1652 this was effected, and Maine surrendered itself to Massachussetts. It was erected into a county, and the towns sent deputies to the general court at Boston. They enjoyed this exclusive privilege, that the inhabitants, although not members of the church, became entitled to the rights of freemen on taking the oath.

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The settlements in New Hampshire, too, struggling with the difficulties of their situation, maintained only a doubtful and feeble existence, when they drew a recruit of inhabitants from the same causes which had peopled Rhode Island and Connecticut.

When Mrs. Hutchinson and other antinomians, in 1637, were exiled from their country, Mr. Wheelwright, her brother-in-law, a very popular preacher, was banished likewise. He carried with him a considerable number of his followers, and just passing the north-eastern boundary of Massachussetts, planted the town of Exeter on the shore of the great bay of Piscataqua. The emigrants immediately formed themselves, according to the manner of New England, into a body politic for their own government.

A small emigration arrived soon afterwards from England, and, settling on the same river, laid the foundation of the town of Dover. These, too, in October 1640, established for themselves a distinct government The first act of this petty society proved the source of future discord. The majority chose one Underhill as governor, but a considerable minority was opposed to his election. To this cause of discontent was added another of irresistible influence. This feeble settlement was divided on the subject of the covenant of works and of grace. The antinomians were headed by

Knolles, and the church by Larkham. In this small community, where the feelings and irritations of a part were immediately communicated to the whole, these dissensions soon grew into a civil war, which was happily terminated by Williams, who, as is by no means unusual in small societies torn by civil broils, was invited by the weaker party to their aid. He marched from Portsmouth at the head of a small military force, and, banishing the governor and the leaders of the antinomian faction, restored peace to this distracted village. Larkham, the leader of the party, thus established by the power of Williams, was soon charged with some improprieties, and he too was compelled to leave the country.

In 1639, Massachussetts had asserted a right over this territory. Her claim derived much aid from the distractions which agitated these feeble settlements, and from the uncertainty of the tenure by which the inhabitants held their lands. Of three colonies, only that at Portsmouth seems to have acquired a title from Mason; and among the others, there were consequently many who were unfriendly to his pretensions. These causes combined, produced a voluntary submission to the government of Massachussetts. This was immediately accepted, and, in October 1641, the general court passed an order declaring the inhabitants of Piscataqua to be within their jurisdiction,

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allowing them to participate in all their rights, and exempting them from all "public charges other than those which shall arise for, or among themselves; or from any action, or course, that may be taken to procure their own good or benefit." Wheelwright and a few of his followers, unwilling to continue under the jurisdiction of Massachussetts, removed to the province of Maine, which had not yet ceased to be an independent colony. Under the protecting wing of this more powerful neighbour, however, New Hampshire acquired the force and vigour which afterwards enabled her to stand alone, and long recollected with affection the benefits she had received.

Charles, environed with difficulties occasioned by his own misrule, was at length compelled to meet his parliament, and in November 1641 the great council of the nation was once more assembled. The circumstances which had occasioned such considerable emigrations to New England now ceased to exist. Not only the puritans were no longer persecuted, but power visibly changed hands, and they became the most influential party in the nation. With the causes of migration, the effect also ceased, and from this time New England is supposed to have derived no increase of population from the parent state. This cessation of emigration had an immediate and powerful effect on the interior condition of the country.

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The immense demands for the articles which supported human life, created by the continual influx of strangers, had raised them to a very immoderate price, at which, by the operation of the same causes, they had been for some time continued. A milch cow sold for twenty-five or thirty pounds, and many other articles were proportionably high. But in 1643 the price of a cow was reduced to five or six pounds, and other articles sustained nearly an equal diminution.

About this time many evidences were given of a general combination of the neighbouring Indians against the settlements of New England; and apprehensions were also entertained of the hostile views of the Dutch at Manhadoes. A sense of impending danger suggested the policy of forming a confederacy of the sister colonies for their mutual defence. After mature deliberation, the articles of confederation were digested and agreed upon, and in May 1643 they were exclusively adopted.*

* This was a union (says Mr. Trumbull) of the highest consequence to the New England colonies. It made them formidable to the Dutch and Indians, and respectable among their French neighbours. It was happily adapted to maintain harmony among themselves, and to secure the rights and peace of the country. It was one of the principal means of the preservation of the colonies, during the civil wars and unsettled state of affairs in England. It was the grand source of

By them, the united colonies of New England, viz. Massachussetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a firm and perpetual league, offensive and defensive.

Each colony retained a distinct and separate jurisdiction; no two colonies could join in one jurisdiction without the consent of the whole, and no other colony could be received into the confederacy without the like consent.

The charge of all wars offensive and defensive was to be borne respectively by the colonies, in proportion to the male inhabitants of each, between sixteen and sixty years of age.

On notice of an invasion given by three magistrates of any colony, the confederates were immediately to furnish their respective quotas. These were fixed at one hundred from Massachussetts, and forty-five from each of the other parties to the agreement. If a larger armament should be found necessary, commissioners were to meet, and ascertain the number of men to be required.

Two commissioners from each government, being church members, were to meet annually on

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of mutual defence in Philip's war, and of the most eminent service in civilizing the Indians and propagating the gospel among them. The union subsisted more than forty years, until the abrogation of the charters of New England colonies by king James the Second.

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the first Monday in September. Six possessed the power of binding the whole. Any measure approved by a majority less than six was to be referred to the general court of each colony, and only to be adopted if agreed to by all.

They were to choose annually a president from their own body, and had power to establish laws or rules of a civil nature, and of general concern; of this description were rules which respected their conduct towards the Indians, and measures to be taken with fugitives from one colony to another, and the like.

No colony was permitted without the general consent to engage in war, but in sudden and inevitable cases.

If on any extraordinary meeting of the commissioners, their whole number should not assemble, any four who should meet were empowered to determine on a war, and to call for the respective quotas of the several colonies; but not less than six could determine the justice of the war, or settle the expences or levy money for its support.

If any colony should be charged with breaking any article of the agreement, or with doing any injury to another colony, the complaint was to be considered and determined on by the commissioners of such colonies as were disinterested.

This union, the result of good sense and a judicious consideration of the real interests of the colonies,

lonies, remained in force till their charters were dissolved. Rhode Island, at the instance of Massachussetts, was excluded from it, and her commissioners were not admitted into the congress of deputies which formed it.

On her petitioning afterwards, in 1648, to be received as a member, her request was refused unless she would consent to be incorporated with Plymouth, and thereby lose her separate existence. This condition was deemed inadmissible, and she never was taken into the confederacy. From the formation of this league, its members were considered by their neighbours as one body with regard to external transactions, and such as were of general concern, though the internal and particular objects of each continued to be managed by its own magistrates and general court.

The vigorous and prudent measures now pursued, entirely disconcerted the plans of the Indians, and preserved a general peace.

Rhode Island and Providence plantations, being thus excluded from the general confederacy of the colonies of New England, were under the necessity of courting the friendship of the neighbouring Indians. This they did with assiduity, and such success, that, in the year 1644, they obtained from the chiefs of the Narraghansetts a formal surrender of their country.

In May 1647 their first general assembly, consisting

sisting of the collective freemen of the plantation, was convened. In this body resided the supreme authority of the nation. The executive duties were performed by a governor, and four assistants, chosen from among the freemen by their several towns, and the same persons constituted also the supreme court for the administration of justice. Every township forming within itself a corporation, elected a council of six for the management of its peculiar affairs, and for the settlement of the smallest disputes.

Hitherto the governor, assistants, and representatives of Massachussetts had assembled in the same chamber, and deliberated together. Their relative powers do not seem to have been, at first, accurately understood, nor the mode of deciding controverted questions to have been well defined. On the application which was made in 1635 by Mr. Hooker and his friends, for permission to form a new settlement on Connecticut river, it was found, on counting the votes, that a majority of the assistants were against the measure; but so many of the representatives were in its favour as, with the minority of the assistants, to constitute a majority of the whole. The representatives contended that a majority of the assistants were unnecessary, but that the two bodies, being in the same chamber, should vote collectively, and the question should be decided by a majority of the

the whole. The assistants, perceiving in such a regulation the loss of their importance, insisted on retaining their negative. The whole business of the court was suspended; a day of humiliation and prayer appointed; and the divine direction sought in all the congregations. The legislature again assembled in the subsequent week, and, at the opening of the session, Mr. Cotton preached a sermon which induced the representatives to relinquish, for the present, the point in controversy. The dispute was afterwards, in 1643, revived, and the assistants again succeeding, the representatives in March of the subsequent year moved that separate chambers should be provided for the two branches of the legislature. This motion was carried in the affirmative, and their deliberations thenceforward were conducted apart from each other.

Some modification, however, of this regulation was afterwards introduced. It was agreed that in all judicial proceedings (for the legislature was the appellate court in the last resort), if the two houses differed, the vote should be taken conjointly.

This was not the only controversy between the two branches. The deputies were also dissatisfied with the exclusive power exercised by the magistrates in the recess of the general court, and sent up a bill adding some of their members to the magistracy,

gistracy, for whom they required a commission from the court. This bill was rejected. The house then required the magistrates to suspend the exercise of their executive power until the next session. The magistrates answered that they must act according to the trust reposed in them, and were then told by the speaker that they would not be obeyed. In this temper the court broke up. The irritation having in some measure subsided during the recess, ministers of the gospel were, by agreement, called in at the next session, in order to give their opinion on the point in difference. They determined that the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, were invested with the powers of magistracy, and that they did not derive them from the people, who were only to designate the persons they thought fit to exercise them. Under this decision the deputies acquiesced.*

In England the contests between the king and parliament, which became every day more and more violent, at length issued in open war. The colonies of New England, as might well have been foreseen from the genius of the people, took a very early and sincere part on the side of the parliament. Actuated by this sentiment, the general

* Chal. Hutch.

court

court of Massachussetts deputed as their agents to attend to the interests of the colony, persons well calculated to conciliate the favour of the house of commons. These were Thomas Wild and Hugh Peters, two enthusiastic ministers, and William Hibbins, a representative of the people, entirely according in political and religious sentiments with his colleagues. In March 1642, the house of commons manifested the favourable impression received from these agents, and from the general conduct of their northern colonies, by passing a resolution exempting from the payment of "duties or other customs," until the house should order otherwise, all merchandizes exported to New England, or imported from thence. And in 1644 the general court passed an ordinance in which they declare, "that what person soever shall by word, writing, or action, endeavour to disturb our peace directly or indirectly, by drawing a party, under pretence that he is for the king of England, and such as join with him against the parliament, shall be accounted as an offender of a high nature against this commonwealth, and to be proceeded with either capitally or otherwise, according to the quality and degree of his offence: provided always that this shall not be extended against any merchant strangers and shipmen that come hither merely for matter of trade or merchandize; albeit they should come from any of those parts

that are in the hands of the king, and such as adhere to him against the parliament; carrying themselves here quietly, and free from railing, or nourishing any faction, meeting, or sedition, among us as aforesaid."

In the year 1643, after the commencement of the civil war, parliament passed an ordinance appointing the earl of Warwick governor in chief and lord high admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commons to assist him; and empowering him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of their affairs; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, appointing others in their places; and to assign over to them such part of the powers then granted as he should think proper. Jealous as were the people of New England of their liberty, they do not appear ever to have been alarmed at this extraordinary exercise of power by parliament. So true is it that a great portion of mankind close their eyes on encroachments committed by that party to which they are themselves attached.

In the subsequent year parliament passed another ordinance, exempting New England from all taxes, until both houses should otherwise direct: and in 1646 they passed yet another edict, which exempted all the colonies for three years from all tallages except the excise, provided their productions

productions should only be exported in English bottoms.

In October the apprehensions entertained by Massachussetts from their north-eastern neighbours were quieted by a treaty of peace and commerce, entered into between their governor, styling himself governor of New England, and Monsieur d'Aulney, lieutenant-general of the king of France in Acadié.

This treaty was laid before the commissioners for the colonies, and sanctioned by them.

M. Razilly, who claimed the country bordering on the river St. John under the crown of France, obtained from his most christian majesty, in 1632, a grant of the river and bay of St. Croix, with the adjacent islands, and the lands, twelve leagues upon the sea, and twenty leagues into the country. He also obtained other grants on the St. Croix, and was likewise governor, and the military commander in chief over the country which had been granted to him. He appointed Monsieur d'Aulney de Chanissy his lieutenant of that part of Acadié which lies west of St. Croix, and La Tour, a French huguenot, who held a part of Nova Scotia, under the title of Sir William Alexander while that province was in possession of the English, his lieutenant of that part which lies east of the same river. It was under this com-

mission that D'Aulney in 1635 dispossessed the Plymouth company of Penobscot.

Razilly soon afterwards died, and a contest for the supreme command arose between D'Aulney and La Tour. This contest grew into a war, in which the people of New England, favouring La Tour as a huguenot, gave him some assistance, which was countenanced but not authorized by the government. D'Aulney went to France, and brought with him from thence a commission under the great seal, with a copy of some proceedings against La Tour, proscribing him as a rebel and a traitor. With these documents he entered into the treaty with New England which has been mentioned.

The rigid adherence of Massachussetts to the principle originally ingrafted on their system, of granting the privilege of freemen to those only who thought in religious matters with the majority, could not fail to generate perpetual discontents.

A petition was presented to the general court in 1646, signed by several persons highly respectable for their situation and character, but who, not being church members, were excluded from the common rights of men in society. They complained that the fundamental laws of England were not acknowledged by the colony, and that they were denied

denied those civil and religious privileges to which, as free-born Englishmen of good moral conduct, they were entitled. They accompanied their prayer to be admitted to these privileges, or to be relieved from the burthens of society, with observations conveying a censure on the proceedings of the colony, by no means difficult to be understood, and a threat of applying to parliament for redress, should the prayer of their petition be rejected.*

The most popular governments are not always inclined to tolerate a departure in sentiment from the will of the majority; and Massachussetts had not yet manifested so much moderation as to view with benignity, or treat with lenity, those who did not conform, either in religion or politics, with the dominant opinions.

This petition gave great offence, and the signers of it were required to attend the court. On their urging the right to petition, they were told that they were not accused for petitioning, but for using contemptuous and seditious expressions. They were required to find sureties for their good behaviour, and, on their refusing to acknowledge their offence, they were fined at the discretion of the court. From this decision they claimed an

* Hutch. Chal.

appeal, which was refused them. They then sent deputies to lay their case before parliament, but the clergy exerting themselves on the occasion, the celebrated Cotton, in one of his sermons, asserted, "that if any should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in that country to England, it would be as Jonas in the ship." A storm having arisen during the passage, the mariners, impressed with the prophecy of Cotton, insisted that all obnoxious papers should be thrown overboard, and the deputies were constrained to consign their credentials to the waves. On their arrival in England, they found the parliament but little disposed to listen to their complaints. The agents of Massachussetts had received instructions to counteract their efforts, and the governments of New England were too high in favour to admit of a rigid scrutiny into their conduct.

In some of the internal dissensions which agitated Massachussetts, Winthrop, a man of great merit, always among their first magistrates, and very often their governor, was charged, while deputy governor, with some arbitrary conduct. He defended himself at the bar, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, and having been honourably acquitted, addressed them afterwards from the bench in a speech then highly approved.

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As this speech tends to illustrate the political opinions of that day, an extract from it may not be unworthy of regard.

" The questions," said he, " which have troubled the country of late, and from which these disturbances in the state have arisen, have been about the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment from God. We take an oath to govern you according to God's law, and our own: and if we commit errors, not willingly but for want of skill, you ought to bear with us because, being chosen from among yourselves, we are but men, and subject to the like passions as yourselves. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a freedom of doing what we list, without regard to law or justice: this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, and federal liberty consists in every man's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; which is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate. And for this you ought to contend with the hazard of your lives."

He was afterwards annually chosen governor, during the short remnant of his life.

A controversy which had for some time subsisted between Massachussetts and Connecticut, was now terminated. The latter colony had laid

a duty on all goods exported from Connecticut river, for the purpose of maintaining Saybrooke, a fort erected at its mouth. This duty the inhabitants of Springfield, a town of Massachussetts lying on the river, refused to pay. In 1646, the case was laid before the commissioners of the united colonies, and the parties being heard the following year, Massachussetts urged, "that Connecticut had no authority to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of another colony; that the first was of no use to them; that they had first settled on the river at a considerable expence, and without the expectation of such a tax; and that Massachussetts might, with the same propriety, lay a similar tax on all goods imported from Connecticut, for the purpose of maintaining the fort at Boston."

Connecticut in reply urged the practice of Europe; and insisted that the fort was a security to the whole river. They contended that the reason of this case was the same, as if Connecticut should, at her own expence, make the river more navigable.

Massachussetts denied that the fort was a security against any vessel of force, but admitted that a share of the expence of any improvement which would render the river more useful to Springfield, ought to be borne by the inhabitants of that place.

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The commissioners of Plymouth and New Haven adjourned the final decision of the case until their next meeting, in order to hear further objections from Massachussetts; but directed that, in the mean time, the duty should be paid.

At the meeting in 1648, Massachussetts insisted on the production of the patent of Connecticut. It was perfectly well known that the original patent could not be procured. The agents for Connecticut stated this fact, and offered, in lieu thereof, an authentic copy. The commissioners recommended that the boundary line should be run to ascertain whether Springfield was really in Massachussetts, but still directed that the duty should continue to be paid. On this order being made, the commissioners from Massachussetts produced a law of their general court, reciting the controversy with the orders which had been made in it; and imposing a duty on all goods belonging to the inhabitants of Plymouth, Connecticut, or New Haven, which should be imported within the castle, or exported from any part of the bay, and subjecting them to forfeiture for nonpayment. The commissioners from Plymouth and New Haven complained that they had, according to an article of the union, and at the request of Massachussetts, impartially considered the matter in controversy, and given their opinion on it: that Massachussetts had, thereupon, imposed

imposed a burthensome tax by way of retaliation, not on Connecticut only, but on the colonies also. They therefore recommended it to the general court of Massachussetts, seriously to consider whether such proceedings were reconcileable with "the law of love," and the tenor of the articles of confederation. In the mean time they beg to be excused from "all further agitations concerning Springfield."

Fort Saybrooke being consumed by fire about this time, Connecticut forebore to rebuild it, or to demand the duty; and Massachussetts, the following year, repeated the ordinance which had so successfully for her decided the contest.

Thus it is that a member of a confederacy, feeling its own strength, and the weakness of those with whom it is connected, will ever deride the legitimate decisions of the federal body, when opposed to its own interests or passions; and will only obey the general will, when that will is dictated by itself.

After the meeting of the long parliament in England, both parties in that country were too much occupied at home to pay much attention to distant transactions; and the governments of New England, left very much to themselves, had been in habits of directing their own affairs as an independent nation. They had carried on a free trade with the world. The commissioners of the united colonies

colonies had held negociations with the French colony in Canada, on the subjects of peace, war, and commerce; and, in 1650, they had settled their differences, and adjusted their boundaries with the Dutch at Manhadoes. But, notwithstanding the favour in which they were held by the parliament, and this temporary suspension of the actual exercise of any authority on their part, that body seems to have entertained very decisive opinions respecting the subordination of the colonies, and its own controling power over them. Measures were now taken for giving effect to these opinions, which involved alike in their operation all the colonies. The council of state was authorized to displace governors, and magistrates, and to appoint others. Massachussetts was called on to take a new patent, and to hold its courts, not in the name of the colony as heretofore, but of the parliament. Unwilling to comply with this requisition, the general court, in 1651, transmitted a petition to parliament, styling that body "the supreme authority," stating the information they had received, that it was the pleasure of parliament they should take a new patent, and hold their courts, and issue their warrants in its name, which had not been done in the late king's time, and the use of which they could not discern. They state their motives to emigration, and their merit in settling the country under a patent "by which," they

they say, "liberty and power were granted them, to live under the government of a governor and magistrates of their own chusing, and laws of their own making (not being repugnant to the laws of England)." They state the uniform attachment they had manifested to parliament during the civil war, the aid they had given, and the losses they had sustained. After speaking of the favours they had received, they express the hope that it could not go worse with them than it did under the late king; and that the frame of their government will not be changed, and governors and magistrates imposed upon them against their will. They express, however, entire submission to the determination of parliament, and avowing for that body the most zealous attachment, pray a favourable answer to their humble petition.*

But in England the united colonies had lately given great umbrage, by supplying Virginia and Barbadoes, though enemies to the commonwealth, with warlike stores and other commodities. It was also matter of real complaint, that their exemption from the payment of duties, enabled them to enrich themselves at the expence of others; and it was seriously contemplated in the council of state, to effect a revocation of their privileges in this respect. Yet the requisitions respecting their

* Hutch.

charter

charter were never complied with, and do not appear to have been repeated.

In this year war was declared by England against Holland. Accustomed, for some time, to conduct their own affairs in their own way, the united colonies did not think themselves involved in this contest, unless engaged in it by some act of their own. The Dutch at Manhadoes, too weak to encounter their English neighbours, solicited the continuance of peace; and as the trade carried on between them was mutually advantageous, this request was readily granted. Intelligence, however, was soon brought from all quarters by the Indians, that the Dutch were privately inciting them to a general confederacy, for the purpose of extirpating the English.* The massacre of Amboyna was

* Mr. Trumbull gives the following statement of the information received by the commissioners of the united colonies: "Upon a close attention to the reports which had been spread, and a critical examination of the evidence, all the commissioners, except those of Massachussetts, were of opinion, that there had been a horrid and execrable plot, concerted by the Dutch governor and the Indians, for the destruction of the English colonies. Nirrigrate, it appeared, had spent the winter at the Manhadoes, with Stuyvesant, on the business. He had been over Hudson's river among the western Indians; procured a meeting of the sachems; made ample declarations against the English, and solicited their aid against the colonies. He was brought back in the spring in a Dutch sloop, with arms and ammunition from the Dutch governor.

The

fresh in their recollection, and a general alarm spread through the colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was called at Boston, who were divided, although the evidence against the Dutch governor was so strong as, in the opinion of some, to amount to full proof. In consequence of this division, a conference was held before the general court, and several elders of Massachussetts. The elders, being requested to give their opinion in writing, stated "that the

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The Indians, for some hundreds of miles, appeared to be disaffected and hostile. Tribes, which before had been always friendly to the English, became inimical; and the Indians boasted, that they were to have goods from the Dutch at half the price for which the English sold them; and powder as plenty as sand. The Long Island Indians testified to the plot; nine sachems, who lived in the vicinity of the Dutch, sent their united testimony to Stamford, "that the Dutch governor had solicited them, by promising them guns, powder, swords, wampum, coats and waistcoats, to cut off the English." The messengers, who were sent, declared, "they were as the mouth of the nine Sagamores, who all spake, they would not lie." One of the nine sachems afterwards came to Stamford, with other Indians, and testified the same. The plot was confessed by a Wampeag and a Narraghansett Indian, and was confirmed by Indian testimonies from all quarters. It was expected that a Dutch fleet would arrive, and that the Dutch and Indians would unite in the destruction of the English plantations. It was rumoured, that the time for the massacre was fixed upon the day of the public election, when the freemen would be generally from home."

proofs

proofs and presumptions of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of so many of the dear saints of God, imputed to the Dutch governor and the fiscal, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive, as to clear up a present proceeding to war before the world, and to bear up their hearts with that fulness of persuasion, which was meet, in commending the case to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations: and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword; but advised them to be in a posture of defence, until the mind of God should be more fully known either for a settled peace, or more manifest grounds of war." With this opinion of the elders, the vote of the general court concurred.*

The intelligence of the practices of the Dutch governor with the Indians becoming more certain, all the commissioners, except Mr. Bradstreet of Massachussetts, declared themselves in favour of war, when their proceedings were interrupted by a declaration on the part of the general court of Massachussetts, that no determination of the com-

* The relative strength of the colonies may be conjectured from their proportions of the force provisionally directed to be raised on this occasion. Massachussetts was to furnish three hundred and thirty-three men, Plymouth sixty, Connecticut sixty-five, and New Haven forty-two men.

missioners,

missioners, although they should be unanimous, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war, which should appear to be unjust.* A very serious altercation ensued, in the course of which the other colonies pressed the war very earnestly, as a measure essential to their safety; but Massachussetts adhered inflexibly to its first resolution. This additional evidence of the total incompetency of their union to bind one member stronger than all the rest, threatened a total dissolution of the confederacy; and that event seems only to have been prevented by the absolute inability of the other members to stand alone. Alarmed at their situation, and irritated by the conduct of their elder sister, Connecticut and New Haven made a representation to Cromwell, then lord protector of England, of the danger to which the colonies were at present exposed from the Dutch and the Indians, and of the hazards the smaller provinces would continue to run, unless the league between them should be confirmed and settled according to its true sense, and according to the interpretation which had, on all former occasions, been given to the articles of confederation.

* It appears that Massachussetts contested the power of the united colonies to declare war, and notwithstanding the express grant of that power in the articles of union, insisted that to be compelled to act by the decisions of the commissioners, was inconsistent with the liberty of the colonies.

With

With his usual promptitude and decision, Cromwell detached a small military and naval force for the reduction of the Dutch colony, and recommended to Massachussetts to afford its assistance. Although the legitimate requisitions of the government of the union had been ineffectual, the recommendation of the lord protector was not to be entirely neglected. The general court passed a resolution, authorizing the officers of Cromwell to raise five hundred volunteers in the colony, to serve on the expedition, and presented an address to his highness, replete, in the language of that day, with professions of attachment and respect, which were unquestionably sincere, and stating that if, in any thing, their judgments had misled them, they most humbly craved his pardon, and entreated that his highness would be pleased to retain them in his good opinion and favour.

Peace, which was signed with the Dutch in April 1654, saved their colony for the present.*

The progress of the French in their neighbourhood, had been viewed with regret and apprehension by all New England. Sedgwic, the commander in chief of the forces which had been destined for Manhattans, animated with the vigour of his master, and having, perhaps, some general verbal authority, was easily prevailed on to turn

* Hutch. Trumb.

his arms against a people whose religious tenets he detested, and whose country he hated. He soon dislodged the French from Penobscot, and subdued all Acadié. Their ministers, in November 1655, pending the negociations for the treaty of Westminster, demanded restitution of the forts Pentagoet, St. John's, and Port Royal; but each nation having claims on the country, their pretensions were referred to the arbitrators appointed, in September 1656, to adjust the damages committed on either side since the year 1640, and the restitution of Acadié was postponed for future discussion.

Cromwell seems not to have intended the restoration of the countries he had conquered. He granted, under the great seal of England, to St. Etienne, to Crown, and to Temple, for ever, the territory denominated Acadié, and part of the country commonly called Nova Scotia, extending along the coast to Pentagoet, and the river St. George.

Until the restoration, the colonies of New England continued in an unexampled state of prosperity. The favourites of the victorious party in England;—those regulations respecting navigation, a rigid observance of which was exacted from others, were dispensed with for their benefit; and they not only enjoyed a perfectly free and unrestrained commerce, but ever retained the extraordinary

extraordinary privilege of exporting their goods to England free from duties. By the vigour and sagacity with which their affairs were conducted, they maintained external peace with very little interruption; and by industry, and attention to their interests, they improved the advantages afforded them by the temper of the times, very much to the amelioration of their particular circumstances. These were the days of prosperity for New England; and a degree of strength and consistence was acquired during their continuance, which enabled the colonies to struggle through the difficulties that afterwards assailed them.

These sober industrious people, however mindful of their interests, were by no means inattentive to the instruction of youth. Education was among the first objects of their care. In addition to private institutions, they had brought the college at Cambridge to a state of forwardness, which reflects much credit on their character. So early as the year 1636, the general court had bestowed four hundred pounds on a public school at Newtown, the name by which Cambridge was then known, which two years afterwards was very much enlarged, by a donation from the Rev. Mr. John Harvard, in consequence of which it received the name of Harvard college. In 1642, this college was placed under the government of the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates and

ministers of the six next adjacent towns, who with the president were incorporated for that purpose, and in 1650 its first charter was granted.

It is to be lamented that the same people possessed a degree of bigotry in religion, and a spirit of intolerance, which their enlightened posterity will review with regret. During this period of external and internal prosperity, the government maintained the severity of its institutions against all those who dissented from the church, and exerted itself assiduously in, what was deemed, the holy work of punishing heretics, and introducing conformity in matters of faith. In this time rose up the sect denominated quakers. They were fined, imprisoned, whipped, and at length put to death; but could not be totally suppressed. As enthusiastic as the people of Massachussetts themselves, they gloried in their sufferings, and deemed themselves the martyrs of truth.

CHAPTER V.

Transactions immediately succeeding the restoration of Charles II.—Contests between Connecticut and New Haven — Discontents in Virginia—Grant to the duke of York — Commissioners appointed by the crown—Conquest of the Dutch settlements—Conduct of Massachussetts to the royal commissioners—They are recalled—Massachussetts evades a summons to appear before the king and council—Settlement of Carolina—Form of government—Constitution of Mr. Locke—Discontents and insurrections in the county of Albemarle—Southern colony is invaded by the Spaniards from Florida—Abolition of the constitution of Mr. Locke—Bacon's rebellion; his death—Assembly deprived of judicial authority —Discontents in Virginia—Population of the colony.

THE restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England was soon known in America, and excited, in the different colonies, very different emotions. In Virginia, where that event had been anticipated by the people; and in Maryland, where the royal party was powerful; the intelligence was received with transport, and the king

was proclaimed amidst acclamations of the most unfeigned joy. In Massachussetts, which had been fostered by the partial favour of parliament and of Cromwell, the unwelcome information was heard with doubt and in silence. Republicans in religion and in politics, all their affections were engaged in favour of the revolutionary party in England, and they saw, in the restoration of monarchy, much more to fear, than to hope, for themselves. Nor did this sagacious people misjudge of their interests.

No sooner was Charles seated on the throne of his ancestors, than the parliament voted a duty of five per centum on all merchandizes exported from, or imported into any of the dominions belonging to the English crown; and in the course of the same session was passed the celebrated navigation act, by which it was enacted, that no merchandize should be imported into the plantations belonging to his majesty in Asia, Africa, and America, or exported from them, but in English vessels, navigated by Englishmen; a description which was admitted to include all the subjects of the English crown. It was also enacted, that no sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic, or other dying woods, of the growth of the English territories in America, Asia, or Africa, should be transported thence to any other country than those belonging to the crown of England. The specified

specified articles were termed "enumerated commodities," and when any new article of export became afterwards important, as the rice of Carolina, the molasses of the West Indies, and the copper ore of the northern colonies, such article was added to the list, and subjected to the same regulations. The colonists remained at liberty under the common law, which gives freedom of commerce to all the subjects of England, to export to any part of the world all objects of trade other than the "enumerated commodities."* The difficulty of carrying this system into execution among a distant people, accustomed to the advantages of a free trade, was foreseen; and therefore the law directed that the governors of the several plantations should take an oath, before entering into office, faithfully to observe it.

As some compensation to the colonies for the commercial restraints thus imposed by the legislature, it was also enacted, during the same session, that no tobacco should be planted or made in England or Ireland, Guernsey or Jersey. These prohibitions affecting the respective parts of the empire, confined the trade of the colonies to England, and conferred on them exclusively the production of tobacco.

Charles, immediately on his ascending the

* Chalmer.

throne, transmitted to Sir William Berkeley a commission as governor of Virginia. He was instructed, among other things, to call an assembly, and to assure it of the intention of his majesty to grant a general pardon to all persons, other than those who were attainted by act of parliament, provided all acts made during the rebellion, derogating from the obedience to the king and his government, should be repealed. The instructions also directed him to confirm any imposts the assembly might think fit to establish for the general benefit, applying thereout one thousand pounds for his own salary, and to revoke such grants of land as had been made contrary to the instructions of Charles I. and the good of the people.

The assembly, which had been summoned in March 1660 to meet in the name of the king, who was not at that time acknowledged in England, and which had been prorogued by the governor to March 1661, then convened, and engaged in the necessary but arduous task of revising the laws of the colony. One of the motives assigned for making this legislative digest of their legal code, strongly marks the prevailing temper of the day. They declare their intention to be, to repeal and expunge "all unnecessary acts, and chiefly such as might keep in memory their forced deviation from his majesty's obedience," and to bring into

into one volume those which are to remain in force.

This laborious work was accomplished; and, in its execution, the first object of attention was religion. The church of England was established by law. Provision was made for its ministers; and, to preserve the purity and unity of its doctrines and discipline, those only who had received their ordination from some bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement to be conformable to the orders and constitution of the church of England, and the laws there established, could be inducted by the governor, and no others were permitted to preach publicly or privately. The day of the execution of Charles I. was ordered to be kept as a fast, and that of the birth and restoration of Charles II. to be celebrated as a holyday. The duties on exports and tonnage were rendered perpetual; the privilege of the burgesses from arrest was established, and their number fixed; the courts of justice were organized; and a variety of useful and necessary laws were passed for regulating the interior of the colony.

An effort was made to encourage manufactures, especially that of silk, which it was then supposed might become a staple of Virginia. For each pound of that article which should be raised, a premium of fifty pounds of tobacco was given;

and

and every person was injoined to plant a number of mulberry-trees, proportioned to his quantity of land, to furnish food for the silk-worm: but the labour of the colony had long been directed, almost exclusively, to the culture of tobacco and Indian corn, and new habits of industry are seldom introduced unless they become indispensably necessary. This attempt to multiply the objects of labour seems not to have succeeded, and the acts on this subject were soon repealed.

Vessels owned in Virginia had been heretofore exempted from the duties on the exportation of tobacco. A law was now passed, declaring those vessels only to be entitled to this privilege, which belonged solely to the inhabitants of that colony, and not such as belonged to partners, some of whom resided elsewhere.

In Maryland, where the proprietor was restored to his government, and Charles acknowledged with joy as their sovereign, the legislature was also convened, and, as in Virginia, its first employment was to manifest its satisfaction with the late revolution; after which they entered upon subjects of general utility.

Rhode Island, excluded from the confederacy in which the other colonies of New England were united, and dreading danger to her independence from Massachussetts, was well pleased with the re-establishment of an authority which could overawe

overawe the strong and protect the weak. Charles II. was immediately proclaimed, and they not long after deputed Clarke as their agent to the court of that monarch, for the purpose of soliciting a patent which should confirm their rights to the soil, and to jurisdiction over the country they occupied. The object of his mission was obtained in September 1662, but the charter did not finally pass the seals until July 1663. The patentees were incorporated by the name of "The governors and company of the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence." The legislative power was vested in an assembly, to consist of the governor, deputy governor, the assistants, and such of the freemen as should be chosen by the towns; the presence of the governor or his deputy, and six of the assistants, was rendered necessary to constitute an assembly. They were empowered to pass laws adapted to the situation of the colony, and not repugnant to those of England. "That part of the dominions of the crown in New England, containing the islands in Narraghansett bay, and the countries and parts adjacent," was granted to the governor and company, and their successors, with the privileges to pass through, and trade with, and other English colonies.

The intelligence of the restoration was unaccompanied in Connecticut by manifestations of either joy or sorrow. Winthrop was deputed to attend

attend to their interests, and, in April 1662, he obtained for them a charter, incorporating them by the name of "The governor and company of the English colony of Connecticut in New England." The executive, as in the other colonies of New England, consisted of a governor, deputy governor, and assistants. The legislature, which was to be holden twice a year, and was composed of the officers above-mentioned, and of two deputies from every town, was authorized to appoint annually the governor, assistants, and other officers, to erect courts of justice, and generally to make such laws as might be necessary for the colony, with the usual proviso, that they should not be contrary to those of the realm of England. To this corporation the king granted that part of his dominions in New England, bounded on the east by Narraghansett bay, on the north by the southern line of Massachussetts, on the south by the sea, and extending in longitude from east to west, with the line of Massachussetts, to the South Sea.

By this charter, New Haven was, without being consulted, included in Connecticut. Dissatisfied with this proceeding, a general meeting of the freemen was convened in November, which determined that it was not lawful to join, and therefore unanimously resolved to adhere to their former association. A committee was appointed to address the assembly of Connecticut, in which they

they insisted, not that the charter annexing them to Connecticut was void, but that it did not include them.

A negociation between the two provinces was commenced, in which the people of New Haven maintained, with inflexible perseverance, and with a considerable degree of exasperation, their right to a separate government. They appealed to the crown from the explanation given by Connecticut to the charter; and Governor Winthrop, the agent, who had obtained that instrument, and who flattered himself with being able, on his return, to conciliate the contending parties, deemed it adviseable to arrest all proceedings on their petition, by pledging himself that no injury should be done to New Haven by Connecticut, and that the union and incorporation of the two colonies should only be effected by the voluntary consent of both.

The government of Connecticut, however, still persisted in asserting its jurisdiction, and in attempting to exercise it, by claiming obedience from the people, appointing constables in their towns, disavowing the authority of the general court, and giving protection to those who denied it. Complaints of these proceedings, which were declared to be "unbrotherly and unrighteous," were laid before the commissioners of the united colonies. That body declared, that New Haven

was

was still considered as an integral member of the union, and determined that they could not have their jurisdiction infringed without a breach of the articles of confederation.

Disregarding this decision, Connecticut pursued the object of incorporation unremittingly, and the inhabitants of New Haven were encouraged to refuse the payment of taxes imposed by the legislature of that province; and, when distress was made on the disobedient, assistance was obtained from Hartford, and the whole country thrown into serious alarm. These proceedings seemed only to increase the irritation on the part of New Haven, where a very deep sense of injury was entertained, and a solemn resolution taken, to break off all further treaty on the subject.

This state of things, so unfavourable to the incorporation contemplated in the charter, was entirely changed by a piece of intelligence which gave to all New England the most serious alarm. Information was received that the king had granted to his brother the duke of York, all the lands claimed by the Dutch at Manhadoes, to which he annexed a considerable part of the territory over which the northern colonies had heretofore exercised jurisdiction; and that an armament was soon to be expected for the purpose of taking possession of the grant. To this it was added, that commissioners were to come out at the same time,

time, empowered to settle the disputes, and new model the governments of the colonies.

The policy of accommodating all internal differences became apparent, and the commissioners of the united colonies now took a decided part in favour of the proposed incorporation. The most intelligent inhabitants of New Haven became converts to the same opinion; but the prejudices imbibed by the mass of the people were still insurmountable, and no vote in favour of the union could be obtained.

At length, after the arrival of the commissioners of the crown, and a manifestation of their opinion in favour of the proposed incorporation; after a long course of negociation, and a compact being entered into, establishing certain principles of equality required by the jealousy of New Haven, the union was completed, and the representatives of the two colonies met in the same assembly.

During the frequent changes in England, after the death of Cromwell, Massachussetts seems to have produced a cautious neutrality, and to have been disposed to avail herself of such favourable circumstances as might occur, without exposing herself unnecessarily to the resentments of any party which might ultimately obtain the ascendency. Although expressly ordered, she did not proclaim Richard as lord protector, nor did she take any step to recognize the authority of parliament.

ment. The first intelligence of the restoration of Charles was received with the scrupulous incredulity of men who are unwilling to believe a fact too well supported by evidence to be discredited; and when they were informed, in a manner not to be questioned, of the reality and certainty of the resolution which had placed that monarch on the throne, they neither proclaimed the king, nor by any public act evinced their admission of his authority. This was not the only testimony of their general dissatisfaction. By the vessel bringing this intelligence came passengers Whaley and Goff, two of the judges of Charles, who were received with distinction by the government, and with affection by the people.

A session of the general court was held in October 166$\frac{3}{4}$, and an address to the king was moved; but rumours of the yet unsettled state of the kingdom, of the discontents of the people, and of Lord Fairfax being at the head of a great army coming by the way of Barbadoes, the motion did not prevail. They had seen so many changes in the course of a few months, that they were by no means certain that an address to the king might not find the executive power in the hands of a committee of safety, or council of state.* The governor in council, however, thought proper to

* Trumb. Hutch. Chal.

notice

notice a book, which had been published some time before, under the title of the "Christian Commonwealth," which they found "full of seditious principles relative to all established governments in the christian world, especially against the government established in their native country." The elders concurring in the condemnation of the book, its author escaped punishment only by acknowledging his error. This uncertain state of things was not of long continuance. On the 30th of November a ship arrived from Bristol, bringing positive advices of the joyful and universal submission of the nation to the king, with letters from Leveret their agent, and others, informing them that petitions had been preferred against the colony, by those who thought themselves aggrieved by its proceedings. The time for deliberation was passed. A general court was immediately convened, and a very loyal address to the king was voted, in which, with considerable ability, although in the peculiar language of the day, they justify their whole conduct, and without sacrificing any opinion concerning their own rights, profess unlimited attachment to the sovereign, and pray his protection for them and for their liberties.* A similar address was made to par-

* "MOST GRACIOUS AND DREAD SOVEREIGN,

"May it please your majesty, (in the day wherein you

liament, and letters were written to those noblemen who were the known friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. A gra-

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happily say, you now know that you are again king over British Israel) to cast a favourable eye upon your poor Mephiboseths now, and by reason of lameness, in respect of distance, not until now appearing in your presence, we mean New England, kneeling, with the rest of your subjects, before your majesty, as her restored king. We forget not our ineptness as to these approaches. We at present own such impotency, as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our lord the king: yet, contemplating such a king, who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exile, who hath been himself an exile, the aspect of majesty, thus extraordinarily circumstanced, influenceth and animateth exanimated outcasts (yet outcasts as we hope for truth) to make this address unto their prince, hoping to find grace in his sight: we present this script, the transcript of our loyal hearts, into your royal hands, wherein we crave leave:

"To supplicate your majesty for your gracious protection of us, in the continuance both of our civil privileges, according to and of our religious liberty, the grantee's known end of the patent conferred upon the plantation by your royal father. This, this, viz. our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel, with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel (unto which the former, in these ends of the earth, are but subservient) was the cause of our transporting ourselves, with our wives, our little ones, our substance, from that pleasant land, over the Atlantic Ocean, into this vast and waste wilderness; choosing rather the pure scripture worship, with a good conscience, in this poor remote wilderness, among the heathens, than the pleasures of England, with subjection

cious answer was returned by the king, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in inclining the heart

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subjection to the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil conscience. For this cause we are this day in a land which lately was not sown, wherein we have conflicted with the sufferings thereof much longer than Jacob was in Syria. Our witness is in heaven, that we left not our country upon any dissatisfaction, as to the constitution of our civil state: our lot, after the example of the good old nonconformist, hath been only to act a passive part, through these late vicissitudes and successive overturnings of state; our separation from our brethren in this desart hath been, and is, a suffering, bringing to mind the application; but providential exceptions of us thereby from the late wars, and temptation of either party, we account as a favour from God; the former clothes us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency.

"What reception, courtesy, and equanimity, those gentlemen and other adherers to the royal interest, who in adverse changes visited these parts, were entertained with amongst us, according to the meanness of our conditions, we appeal to their own reports.

"Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim wherein we are dumb by reason of absence, your majesty would permit nothing to make an impression upon your royal heart against us, until we have opportunity and licence to answer for ourselves. Few will be nocent, said that impleader, if it be enough to deny; few will be innocent, replied the then emperor, if it be enough to accuse.

"Concerning the quakers, open capital blasphemers, open

of his majesty, favourably to receive and answer their address.

Their apprehensions, however, of danger to their

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seducers from the glorious trinity, the Lord's Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospel; and from the holy scriptures, as the rule of life; open enemies to government itself, as established in the hands of any but men of their own principles; malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our church and state: after all other means, for a long time used in vain, we were at last constrained, for our safety, to pass a sentence of banishment against them, upon pain of death; such was their dangerous, impetuous, and desperate turbulency to religion and the state, civil and ecclesiastical, as that, how unwilling soever would it have been avoided, the magistrate at last in conscience both to God and man judged himself called, for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them. This could do no harm to him who would be warned thereby; their willingly rushing thereupon was their own act, and we with all humility conceive, a crime, bringing their bloods upon their own heads. The quakers died not because of their other crimes, how capital soever; but upon their superadded presumptuous and incorrigible contempt of authority, breaking in upon us notwithstanding the sentence of banishment made known to them: had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died, or worse; and such was their insolency, that they would not be restrained but by death; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to return without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said they should not die. Let not the king hear men's words; your servants

are

government both in church and state, from the revolution in England, still continued. Reports prevailed that their commercial intercourse with

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are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel: we are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar; nor schismatics as to matters of religion; we distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmities, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others, we desire may be amended; we could not live without the worship of God; we were not permitted the use of public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our consciences, we with leave (but not without tears) departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos; in regard whereunto, we do not say our garments are become old by reason of a very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are, by reason of very long absence, many of us become grey-headed, and some of us stooping for age. The omission of the pre-mentioned injunctions, together with the walking of our churches, as to the point of order in the congregational way, is all wherein we differ from our orthodox brethren.

"Sir, we lie not before your sacred majesty. The Lord of Gods, the Lord God of Gods, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it were in rebellion or schism that we left our dwelling in our own, or continue our dwellings in a strange land, save us not this day.

"Royal sir, if, according to our humble petition and good

Virginia and the islands was to be cut off; and that three frigates were coming with a governor-general, whose authority should extend over all the colonies. On this occasion the general court, on the report of a committee, came to several resolutions respecting their own rights, and the obedience due from them, which were strongly expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinions on those interesting subjects.

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hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of mercies (who comforteth the abject) shall make the punishment of the bereavement of that all, for which we do leave and do suffer the loss of all, precious, so precious in your sight; or that your royal heart shall be inclined to shew unto us that kindness of the Lord in your majesty's protection of us in these liberties, for which we hither came, and which hitherto we have enjoyed, upon Hezekiah's speaking comfortably to us as to sons; this orphan shall not continue fatherless, but grow up as a revived infant under its nursing father: these churches shall be comforted in a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity; these poor and naked gentiles, not a few of which, through grace, are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers, with encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdom of Christ among them; and the blessing of your poor afflicted (and yet we hope trusting in God) shall come upon the head and heart of that great king, who was sometime an exile as we are. With a religious salutation of our prayers, we (prostrate at your royal feet) beg pardon for this our boldness; craving finally that our names may be enrolled among your majesty's most humble subjects and suppliants."

It

It was resolved that the patent (under God) is the first and main foundation of the civil policy of the colony.

That the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic, invested with the powers to make freemen.

That the freemen have authority to choose annually a governor, deputy-governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers.

That the government thus constituted hath full power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeals; save only in the case of laws repugnant to those of England.

That the government is privileged by all means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea, against all who should attempt injury to the plantation, or its inhabitants; and that in their opinion, any imposition prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of theirs (not repugnant to the laws of England), would be an infringement of their rights.

These strong and characteristic resolutions were accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which they were bound by their allegiance. These were declared to consist in upholding that colony as belonging of right to his majesty, and not to subject it to any foreign prince; in preserving his person and dominions; and in settling the peace

and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel.

It was at the same time determined that the royal warrant, which had been received some time before, for apprehending Whaley and Goff, ought to be faithfully executed. These persons, however, were permitted to escape to Connecticut, where they were received with every demonstration of regard, and to remain, during life, in New England, only taking care not to appear in public.

At length it was determined to proclaim the king; and a form was agreed on, in which they, "as in duty bound, own and acknowledge" Charles the Second to be their sovereign lord and king; but, as if unable to conceal the coldness and reluctance with which this step was taken, on the same day an order was made, prohibiting all disorderly behaviour on the occasion, and in particular, directing that no man should presume to drink his majesty's health; which, adds the order, "he hath in a special manner forbid."

An address to the king was also agreed on, which was transmitted to their agent in order to be presented to his majesty.

Further intelligence being received from England of the continuing and increasing complaints made there against the government of Massachusetts, agents were deputed, who were instructed to represent the colonists as loyal and obedient subjects,

subjects, to endeavour to remove any ill impressions which might have been made against them, to learn the disposition of his majesty towards them, but to do nothing which might prejudice their charter.

The agents, who engaged reluctantly in a service from which they rightly augured to themselves censure rather than approbation, were received more favourably than had been expected. They soon returned to Boston with a letter from the king, confirming their charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal whenever it should be desired. It also contained a pardon for all treasons committed during the late troubles, with the exception of those only who were attainted by act of parliament. But the royal message contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colony. It required that the general court should renew its ordinances, and repeal such of them as were repugnant to the royal authority; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person; that justice should be administered in the king's name; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonials of the church of England; and that freeholders of competent estates, not vicious, should be allowed to vote in the election of officers,

cers, civil and military, though they were of different persuasions in church government.

These requisitions on the part of the monarch, which now appear so reasonable, gave, at that day, much disquiet. Only that which directed proceedings in the courts of justice to be carried on in the name of the king, seems ever to have been complied with. The agents, on their return, were ill received by the people, who considered themselves as having sacrificed the interest of their country, because, with the agreeable, were mingled some bitter, though necessary and unavoidable ingredients. This mode of judging the conduct of those who act for us abroad, has not been confined to the people of that day.

The parliament of England, in the mean time, proceeded to complete its system of confining to the mother country the trade of her colonies. In 1663, it was enacted that no commodity of the growth or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into the settlements of England in Asia, Africa, or America, but such as shall be shipped in England, and proceed directly on board English ships, navigated by Englishmen. Out of this general rule were excepted salt for the fisheries, wine from Madeira and the Azores; and servants, horses, and victuals, from Scotland and Ireland.

To counterbalance these restrictions, duties

were

were imposed on salt and dried fish caught or imported by other vessels than those of the subjects of the crown, and additional regulations were made for enforcing the prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England.

These commercial restrictions were the never-failing source of discontent and controversy between the mother country and her colonies. They had been accustomed in their infancy to a free commerce, and its advantages were surrendered with the more reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which every commodity could be vended, and every want supplied. In the southern colonies, where similar restraints had been enforced by Cromwell, they were executed very imperfectly; and, in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, they appear to have been, for a considerable time, entirely disregarded.

The good humour which prevailed in Virginia on the restoration of Charles to the throne, was not of long duration. The restraints on their commerce, and the continually decreasing price of tobacco soon excited considerable discontents. They endeavoured to suppress, for a limited time, the culture of that plant, to restore its value; but Maryland refusing to concur in the measure, the attempt was unsuccessful. Other legislative remedies were applied with as little advantage. Acts were

were passed, suspending for a short time all proceedings in the courts of law, except for goods imported; giving to country creditors priority in payment of debts; and to contracts made within the colony precedence in all courts of justice. Such expedients as these, though often resorted to, have never removed the discontents which produce them.

The English government seems, at all times, to have considered the right of the Dutch to their settlements in America as by no means unequivocal, and never to have relinquished formally its claim to that territory. Charles now determined to assert it, and in March 1664 he granted to his brother, the duke of York, "all that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place, called and known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New England in America, and from thence extending along the sea-coast unto a certain place called Pemaquie, or Pemaquid, and so up the river thereof to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to the river Kembequin, and so upwards by the shortest course to the river Canada northward: and also all that island or islands, commonly called by the general name or names Meitowax, or Long Island, situate and being toward the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow Highgansetts, abutting upon the main land between

between the two rivers there called and known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's river, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay; and also all those several islands, called or known by the names of Martha's Vineyard, or Nantuck's, otherwise Nantucket."

To reduce this country, part of which was then in the peaceable possession of the Dutch, Colonel Nichols was dispatched with four frigates, carrying on board three hundred soldiers. In the same ships came four commissioners, of whom Colonel Nichols was one, empowered "to hear and determine complaints and appeals in causes, as well military as civil and criminal, within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of the country." Intelligence of this deputation preceded its arrival, and such preparation was made for its reception, as evidences the disposition then prevailing in Massachussetts. A committee was appointed to repair on board the ships so soon as they should appear, and to inform those in command of the desire of the authority of the place, that the inferior officers and soldiers should be ordered, when they came on shore to refresh themselves, at no time to exceed a convenient number, to come unarmed, to observe an orderly conduct, and to give no offence to the people and laws of the country. In addition to this

this manifestation of a temper unfriendly to the objects of the commissioners, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles.

Colonel Nichols, with the other commissioners, arrived in July, and their commission was immediately laid before the council. They also presented a letter from the king, requiring prompt assistance for the expedition against New Netherlands.

On receiving these dispatches, the general court was convened; and, having first resolved "that they would bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed by undoubted right in the sight of God and man;" they determined to raise two hundred men for the expedition. In the mean time Colonel Nichols proceeded to Manhadoes. The march of this auxiliary force was rendered unnecessary, by the capitulation of the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam, which was soon followed by the surrender of the whole province.

The year after Captain Argal had received the submission of the Dutch at Manhattans, the garrison, having received a reinforcement from Holland, and returned to their ancient allegiance, erected a fort for their better defence on the south-western part of the island; and in 1621 the states general

general made a grant of the country to the West India company, who, two years afterwards, erected a fort called Good Hope, on Connecticut (which they denominated Fresh River), and another called Nassau, on the east side of Delaware bay. The fort on Connecticut river, however, did not protect the boundary they claimed on that frontier. The people of New England continued to extend their settlements southwardly, and the Dutch remonstrated in vain against their encroachments. They were under the necessity of receding as their more powerful neighbours advanced, until the eastern part of Long Island, and the country within a few miles of the Hudson, were relinquished. Towards the south the Dutch had, in 1651, built Fort Casimir (now Newcastle) on the Delaware. This fort was taken from them by the Swedes, who claimed the western shore of that river; but in 1655 it was retaken by the Dutch, who, at the same time, conquered Christina, and received the submission of the few Swedes who were scattered on the margin of the river. They also made a settlement the following year at Cape Henlopen, which attracted the attention of Lord Baltimore, who sent a commission to Newcastle, ordering the Dutch governor to remove beyond the fortieth degree of north latitude, to which his lordship's claim extended. This command, however, was not obeyed; and possession of the country was retained

retained until it was conquered by a detachment from the troops under the command of Nichols. The Dutch governor was not unapprised of the force coming against him, and destined to attack him. On its appearance before New Amsterdam, some communications took place between the commanders, and a surrender of the place was demanded. Notwithstanding its weakness, the governor was disposed to resist; but Nichols published a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants (who had no inclination for the contest) to submit, promising them the king's protection, and all the privileges of English subjects. They took part with their invaders, and Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, was compelled reluctantly to sign a capitulation, by which he surrendered the place to the English, stipulating for the inhabitants their property and the rights of free denizens. The town of New Amsterdam now took the name of New York, and the island of Manhattans that of York Island.*

Hudson's and the south of Delaware river were still to be reduced. Carteret commanded the expedition against Fort Orange up Hudson's river, which surrendered on the 24th of September, and received the name of Albany. While there, Carteret had an interview with the five nations.

* Chal. Smith's New York.

with

with whom he formed a league of friendship which continued ever afterwards, and proved eminently useful to the views of the English in America.

The command of the expedition on the Delaware was given to Sir Robert Carr, who completed the conquest of that country on the first of October.

Nichols took possession of the conquered territory; but, in November 1665, he was compelled to surrender a part of it to Carteret.

Soon after the patent to the duke of York, and before the conquest of New Netherlands, that prince had granted a portion of the territory he was about to acquire to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The conveyance was dated in June, 1664, and passed to those noblemen all that tract of land adjacent to New England, to the westward of Long Island, bounded on the east, south, and west, by the river Hudson, the sea, and the Delaware; and on the north, by forty-one degrees and forty minutes, north latitude. This country was denominated New Jersey.

The conquest of New Netherlands being achieved, the commissioners entered on the other duties assigned them. A great part of Connecticut had been included in the patent to the duke of York, and a controversy concerning limits was of course created between those two colonies. Their boun-

daries were adjusted by the commissioners in December, in a manner which appears to have been at that time satisfactory to all parties.*

In Plymouth and Rhode Island the commissioners experienced no difficulty in the full exercise of the powers committed to them. In Massachussetts, they were considered as men clothed with an authority subversive of the liberties of the colony, which the sovereign had no right to give. The people of that colony had been long in habits of self government, and seem sincerely to have entertained theories which justified their practice. They did not admit themselves, as their historian informs us, to owe to the English crown that allegiance which is due from English subjects residing within the realm. They considered them-

* "That the southern bounds of his majesty's colony of Connecticut is the sea; and that Long Island is to be under the government of his royal highness the duke of York, as is expressed by plain words in the said patents respectively. We also order and declare that the creek or river called Momoronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of West Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt, at high water mark, north-northwest to the line of Massachussetts, be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut, and the plantations lying westward of that creek and line so drawn, to be under his royal highness's government; and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut."—TRUMBULL.

selves

selves as the purchasers from independent sovereigns of the territory they occupied, and as only owing to England that voluntary subjection which was created by charter. They considered this instrument as a compact between the mother country and themselves, and as marking all the cases in which obedience was due from them. In this spirit, soon after the arrival of the commissioners, they agreed on an address to the crown. This address, in which they manifested great apprehension of danger to their rights from the extraordinary powers granted to men not appointed in conformity with their charter, is drawn up in a style of much earnestness and sincerity, and concludes with these remarkable words: "Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all yet have further cause to say, from our hearts, let the king live for ever." This address was accompanied with letters to many of the nobility supposed to possess influence at court, praying their intercession in favour of the colony; but neither the address nor the letters were favourably received.

In April 1665, the commissioners arrived at Boston, and their communications with the general court commenced. The suspicions which these two bodies reciprocally entertained of each other, effectually prevented any cordial co-opera-

tion between them. The papers on the part of the commissioners display high ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, accompanied with a preconceived opinion, that there was no disposition to submit to that authority; those on the part of the general court manifest a wish to avoid a contest with the crown, and a desire to gratify his majesty so far as professions of loyalty and submission could gratify him; but, at the same time, they manifested a conviction of having done nothing improper, and a steady determination to yield nothing they deemed incompatible with their rights. Under such circumstances the correspondence soon became an altercation. Finding their object was not to be obtained by reasoning or threat, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their powers, by summoning before them the parties, in order to hear and decide a complaint against the governor and company. The general court, with a decision which marked, at the same time, their vigour and the high value placed on their privileges, announced, by sound of trumpet, their disapprobation of this proceeding, as being inconsistent with the laws and established authority; and declared that, in observance of their duty to God and to his majesty, and of the trust reposed in them by his majesty's good subjects in the colony, they could not consent to such proceedings, nor countenance

countenance those who would so act, or such as would abet them.*

As a ground of compromise the court stated their willingness to hear the case themselves in the presence of the commissioners, who would thereby be enabled to understand the merits of the complaint; but this proposition was at once rejected, and every effort to accommodate these conflicting authorities proved unavailing.

From Massachussetts the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, where they decided the claims of Mason and Gorges in their favour, and erected a royal government in each province, appointing justices of peace, and exercising other acts of sovereignty. They then returned to Boston, and the general court, declaring that their proceedings to the eastward tended to the disturbance of the public peace, asked a conference on the subject; which was refused with a bitterness of expression that put an end to all further communication between them. Massachussetts, soon afterwards, though with some difficulty, re-established her authority both in New Hampshire and Maine.

Charles, informed of these transactions, recalled his commissioners, and ordered the general court to send agents to England, to hear and to answer

* Hutch.

the complaints made against its proceedings. The court having more than once experienced the benefits of procrastination, affected to disbelieve the authenticity of the letter, and excused themselves from sending over agents by saying, that the ablest among them could not better support their cause than it had already been done.*

During these transactions in the north, new colonies were forming in the south.

Cabot, who in 1498 discovered the continent of North America, had not sailed further south than to the 38th degree of north latitude. The great Columbus, not long afterwards, penetrated the gulph of Mexico as far as the isthmus of Darien, in search of a passage to the South Sea. He was followed by several other Spanish navigators in pursuit of the same object, one of whom, Ponce de Leon, in 1514, discovered the southern part of the continent, to which he gave the name of Florida, which the whole continent retained, until it received from Elizabeth that of Virginia.

In the years 1523-24-25, the same coast was explored with considerable accuracy by Verazzan, an Italian, who sailed under the authority of Francis the First. That monarch did not live to establish a colony there, and it was not until the year 1562, that a French settlement in Florida

* Hutch. Chal.

was

was attempted. In that year, admiral Coligny, as well to promote the interests of his country, as to form an asylum for the French huguenots, sent thither a small colony under the conduct of Ribaud, who built fort Charles on the river Edisto. A larger emigration, led by Laudoniere in 1564, settled on the river May, since denominated St. Matheo. The Spaniards, who then asserted their exclusive right to the whole continent of America, massacred, in the succeeding year, the French emigrants, with the same relentless cruelty which had before been exercised, in their bloody conquests, over the natives of the new world. This act of savage barbarity, which did not excite the indignation of France because the victims were huguenots, was not however permitted to pass away unrevenged. The chevalier Gourgues, feeling sensibly the hard fate of his friends, collected at his own expence, and without authority, a faithful and determined band, which he led against the assassins of his countrymen, on whom he severely retaliated the injuries which they had inflicted. The settlement he made, however, being unsupported, Florida was soon afterwards abandoned.

Fifteen years after the evacuation of Florida by the chevalier Gourgues, commenced the abortive attempts to settle a colony by Sir Walter Raleigh, which have already been noticed. Afterwards, in

the year 1630, Sir Robert Heath, the attorney general, obtained from Charles the First, a grant of the country south of the 36th degree of south latitude, under the name of Carolina; but no attempt at settlement under it having been ever made, this grant was deemed of no validity. About the epoch of the restoration, a few adventurers emigrated from Massachussetts, and settled around Cape Fear, where, with great difficulty, by their own labour and the aid of Massachussetts, they obtained a scanty subsistence.

At length, in the year 1663, that tract of country extending from the 36th degree of north latitude to the river St. Matheo, was erected into a province by the name of Carolina, and granted to Lord Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, in absolute property for ever. This charter bears a strong resemblance to that of Maryland, and was probably copied from it.

The proprietors took immediate measures to encourage the settlement of their new colony, and gave to it a constitution in which was admitted a governor to be chosen by themselves, out of thirteen persons to be nominated by the colony, and an assembly to be composed of the governor, council, and representatives of the people, who should have power to make laws, not contrary to those

those of England, which should remain in force until the publication of the dissent of the proprietors to them should be made. Perfect freedom in religion was promised, and an allowance of one hundred acres of land for every freeman at the rate of one halfpenny per acre, and fifty for every servant who should within the space of five years be settled in the colony, was also held forth as an inducement to emigrate to this infant colony.

A small settlement around Albemarle Sound had been made by some emigrants from Virginia, the superintendance of which was conferred by the proprietors on Sir William Berkeley, then governor of that colony. He was instructed to visit the settlement, and to appoint a governor and council of six, for the direction of their affairs. He was also permitted on their application to grant lands to them on the same terms on which they might have obtained those in Virginia.

The attention of the proprietors was next turned to the country south of Cape Fear. This district, as far as the river St. Matheo, they erected into a county by the name of Clarendon. A considerable number of persons from Barbadoes emigrated into this country, one of whom, Mr. John Yeamans, was appointed commander in chief; and in 1665 a separate government was erected

erected in it, similar to that which had before been given to Albemarle. An order was, at the same time, made, that the commission of Yeaman should not prevent the appointment of a new governor for a settlement projected, south of Cape Romain, afterwards called Carteret. To aid the exertions of the proprietors, Charles presented them with twelve pieces of cannon, which, with a considerable quantity of warlike stores, were sent to Charles river.

Discovering tracts of valuable land not included in their original patent, the proprietors applied for a new charter, and, in June, obtained one which bestowed on them a more extensive territory. This charter grants to them that province, within the king's dominions in America, extending north-eastward to Carahtuke inlet; thence in a straight line to Wyonoke, which lies under 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude; south-westward to the 29th degree of north latitude; and from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea. Powers of government, and privileges analogous to such as were comprised in other colonial charters, were also contained in this.

The county of Albemarle, employed like Virginia in the cultivation of corn and tobacco, received their scanty supplies principally from New England; and carried on the small commerce belonging to such an infant settlement in the vessels

of

of those colonies. Their progress in wealth and population was slow, but they were contented. A new constitution was given them in 1667, by which the executive power was placed in a governor to act by the advice of a council of twelve, six of whom were to be chosen by himself, and the other six by the assembly, which was composed of the governor, the council, and twelve delegates chosen annually by the freeholders. Perfect freedom in religion was granted, and all were entitled to equal privileges, on taking the oaths of allegiance to the king, and fidelity to the proprietor.

The first acts of this legislature prove strongly the condition and opinions of the people. To encourage population it was declared that none should be sued, during five years, for any cause of action arising out of the country, and that no person should accept a power of attorney to receive debts contracted abroad.

Dissatisfied with all their own systems, the proprietors at length applied to the celebrated Locke, for the plan of a constitution adapted to their infant colony. They supposed that this profound and acute reasoner on politics as well as other subjects, must necessarily be deeply skilled in the science of governing men. He framed for them a body of fundamental laws, which were afterwards, in 1669, approved and adopted. By them a palatine

a palatine was to be chosen for life, from among the proprietors, who was empowered to act as president of the palatine court, composed of all those who were entrusted with the execution of the powers of the charter. A body of hereditary nobility was created, to be denominated landgraves and caciques, the former to be invested with four baronies, consisting each of four thousand acres, and the latter to have two, containing each two thousand acres of land. These estates were to descend with the dignities for ever.

The provincial legislature, denominated a parliament, was to consist of the proprietors, and in the absence of any one of them his place was supplied by his deputy chosen by himself; of the nobility; and the representatives of the freeholders of every district. These discordant characters were to assemble in one apartment, and vote as a single body. This parliament could initiate nothing. The bills to be laid before it were first to be prepared and assented to in the grand council, composed of the governor, the nobility, and the deputies of the proprietors, who were invested also with the executive power. At the end of every century, the laws were to become void without the formality of a repeal. Various judicatories were erected, and an infinite variety of minute perplexing regulations were made. This constitution, which was declared to be perpetual, soon furnished

furnished an additional evidence to the many afforded by the human race, of the great but neglected truth, that experience is the only safe school in which the science of government is to be acquired, and that the theories of the closet must have the stamp of practice before they can be received with implicit confidence.

The duke of Albemarle was chosen the first palatine; but he did not long survive his election, and Lord Berkeley was appointed his successor. The other proprietors were also named to high sounding offices, and Mr. Locke was created a landgrave.

The attention of the proprietors, after this change of constitution, was first directed to the south. In January 1670, a settlement was made at Port Royal, under the conduct of William Sayle, who had been appointed governor of that part of the coast lying south-westward of Cape Carteret. He was accompanied by Joseph West, who was now entrusted with the commercial affairs of the proprietors, and who, with the governor, for some time conducted the whole mercantile business of the colony. They carried on a circuitous traffic for the purpose of exporting the inconsiderable products of the country, and of procuring colonists, cattle, and provisions, from Virginia, Bermudas, and Barbadoes. In establishing this settlement, the proprietors expended

pended, before the year 1679, eighteen thousand pounds.

William Sayle, after conducting the first colony from England to Port Royal, and convening a parliament in which there were no caciques or landgraves, because there were none in the settlement, sunk under the unhealthiness of the climate; after which, in August 1676, the authority of Sir John Yeamans, who had hitherto governed the settlement around Cape Fear, was extended over the territory south-west of Cape Carteret. In the same year was laid the foundation of old *Charlestown*, which continued to be, for some time, the capital of the southern settlements.

While the proprietors were exerting themselves to settle the southern division of their territory, the utmost dissatisfaction existed in Albemarle. Stevens, the then governor, had been ordered, in 1670, to introduce into that settlement the constitution prepared by Mr. Locke. This innovation excited very considerable opposition, and the discontent it produced was increased by a rumour, which appears to have been void of foundation, but which was not on that account the less mischievous, that the proprietors designed to dismember the province. There was also another cause which greatly increased the ill-humour pervading that small society. Their trade has been stated to have been carried on by the people of New England

land. This commerce, which was convenient to them, the proprietors laboured to stop; and the attempt produced its constant effect;—much ill temper, both on the part of those who carried on the traffic, and of those for whom it was conducted.

These discontents at length broke out into open insurrections. The insurgents, led on by Culpeper, who had been appointed surveyor general of Carolina, soon obtained possession of the country, seized the revenues, and imprisoned the president with seven deputies who had been named by the proprietors. Having thus taken possession of the government, they established courts of justice, appointed officers, called a parliament, and for several years exercised the powers of an independent state; yet they never formally disclaimed the authority of the proprietors.

At this time the tithables of the settlement, consisting of all the men, and of the negro and Indian women, between sixteen and sixty, amounted only to fourteen hundred; and the exports, exclusive of cattle and Indian corn, did not exceed eight hundred thousand pounds weight of tobacco.

After several ineffectual attempts to re-establish the authority of the proprietors, Seth Sothell, who had purchased the interest of Lord Clarendon in the province, had been appointed its governor, but had been taken on his passage by the Algerines, arrived in 1683. He did not improve the condition

condition of the colony. In his conduct, during five years of misrule, are said to have been displayed, bribery, extortion, rapacity, breach of trust, and disobedience of orders. At length, wearied out with such a course of crime, the inhabitants, in 1688, seized his person for the purpose of sending him to England to answer their complaints. At his entreaty, they consented to abandon this intention, and to submit their accusations against him to the next assembly. He was found guilty of every charge exhibited against him, was banished the country for twelve months, and rendered, for ever, incapable of administering the government.

About this time an event occurred in the southern settlements, evincing, at the same time, the poverty of the people, and the manner in which the affairs of the proprietors were conducted. It has been already observed, that the commerce of this colony was in the hands of the proprietors, who had employed Joseph West as their agent. He was appointed to succeed Yeamans in the government, and the colony being unable to pay his salary, the plantation and mercantile stock of the proprietors in Carolina were assigned to him in satisfaction of his claims.

The opinion had been taken up at a very early period in England, that the southern colonies in America were well adapted to the production of

those

those articles which succeed in the warmer climates of the old world. In consequence of this opinion we have seen the abortive efforts which were made, immediately after the restoration, to establish silk as a staple for Virginia. Pursuing the same idea, Charles, in April 1679, employed two vessels to transport foreign protestants into the southern colony, for the purpose of raising wine, oil, silk, and other productions of the south; and to encourage the growth of these articles, he exempted them, for a limited time, from taxation. The effort to introduce them did not however succeed.

The inconvenience of old Charles-town induced a wish to change the seat of government, and in 1680 was laid the foundation of the present metropolis of South Carolina. The situation was then found to be so unhealthy, that directions were given to search for some other position for a town. The seat of government, however, has never been changed.

Carolina continued slowly to increase in wealth and population, without any remarkable incident, other than invasion and destruction of the most southern settlement of the province, by the Spaniards from St. Augustine. This was occasioned, in part, by the jealousy with which the English colony inspired its neighbour; but was principally, and immediately attributed to the encouragement

given in Charles-town to the buccaneers, who then infested those seas, and who were particularly hostile to the Spaniards. It was with difficulty the colonists were prevented by the proprietors from taking ample vengeance for this injury. Their resentments, though restrained, were not extinguished; and until the annexation of the Floridas to the British crown, those colonies continued to view each other with distrust and enmity.

As the country became more populous, its dissatisfaction with the constitution became more considerable. At length, a settled purpose was displayed, to thwart and oppose the wishes of the proprietors in every thing. Wearied with a continued struggle to support, against the will of the people, a system of government not adapted to their circumstances, and which they, consequently, disliked, the constitution of Mr. Locke was, in 1693, abandoned, and the ancient form of government was reinstated.

The discontents which made their appearance in Virginia, soon after the restoration, continued to augment. To the regularly decreasing price of tobacco, and the restraints and burthens imposed on their commerce by the acts of navigation, were soon added other causes of dissatisfaction. Large grants of their lands were made to the favourites of the crown, and very considerable burthens and inconveniencies were produced by

by the hostilities of the Indians. To remove these causes of disquiet, agents were deputed for the purpose of remonstrating against these improvident grants, as well as to promote the wishes of the colony on other subjects then deemed of great moment; and a considerable tax was imposed to support the expence of the deputation. They are said to have been on the point of obtaining the objects of their mission, when all further proceedings were suspended in consequence of a rebellion in the province, which for a time wore a very serious aspect.

At the head of the insurgents was Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who had received his education at the inns of court; and, soon after his arrival in Virginia, had been appointed a member of the council. Young, bold, and ambitious, possessed of an engaging person, and commanding elocution, he was admirably calculated to rouse and direct the passions of the people. The tract which has generally been pursued by those who wish to avail themselves of the weaknesses or prejudices of their fellow men, in order to mount to power, and which seems too plainly marked to be mistaken, was trodden by him. He harangued the people upon their grievances; increased, as much as possible, their irritation against the objects of their disgust, and ascribed to those who governed them the evils with which they thought them-

selves oppressed; while he declared himself to have no other object than their good. Against the languor with which the Indian war had been prosecuted, he particularly declaimed; and striking the note to which their feelings were most responsive, he declared that, by proper exertions, it might have been already terminated.

The people viewing him as their only friend, and believing the zeal he manifested to be only produced by his devotion to their cause, gave him the reward he sought, by electing him their general; and in return, he assured them, that he would never lay down his arms until he had revenged their sufferings on the savages, and redressed their other grievances.

He applied to the governor for a commission appointing him a general against the Indians; and a temporizing policy being pursued on the occasion, he entered James-town, where the assembly was then sitting, at the head of six hundred armed followers, and obtained from an intimidated government all he demanded. No sooner had he returned than the governor, at the request of the assembly, issued a proclamation declaring Bacon a rebel, and commanding his followers to deliver him up, and to retire in peace to their habitations. Bacon and his army, equally enraged at this piece of impotent indiscretion, and forgetting their ancient enemies, returned immediately to James-

town,

town, and the governor, being totally unable to oppose them, fled to Accomack.

The general of the insurgents immediately called a convention of such gentlemen of the country as were in his interests; and they, as is usual on such occasions, inveighed against the governor, for having without cause endeavoured to foment a civil war in the country, and, after failing in this attempt, for having abdicated the government, and withdrawn himself, to the great astonishment of the people. They further stated that their governor, having, as was reported, informed the king, that their commander and his followers were rebellious, and having advised his majesty to send forces to reduce them, it consisted with the welfare of the colony, and their allegiance to his sacred majesty, to oppose and oppress all forces whatsoever, until the king be fully informed of the state of the case, by such persons as shall be sent by Nathaniel Bacon in behalf of the people. At the conclusion of this extraordinary manifesto, is recommended an oath, first taken by the members of the convention, to join the general and his army against the common enemy, in all points whatever, and to endeavour to discover and apprehend such evil disposed persons, as design to create a civil war by raising forces against him and the army under his command.

In the mean time, the governor collected a con-

siderable force, composed of those who remained well affected towards him, and of some English sailors then in the country. They crossed the bay under the command of Major Robert Beverley, and several sharp skirmishes were fought. A civil war was commenced with its accompanying horrors. Agriculture declined; James-town was burnt down by the insurgents; those parts of the country which remained in peace were pillaged; and the wives of those who were faithful to the government, carried to the camp, where they were very harshly treated.

From this threatening state of things, and from the increasing calamities it portended, Virginia was relieved by the sudden death of Bacon in January 1677.

Having lost their leader, the malcontents were incapable of further agreement among themselves. They began separately to make terms with the government, and all opposition was soon at an end.

Sir William Berkeley was reinstated in his authority, and an assembly was called, which seems to have been animated with a spirit of revenge, common to those who have suffered in civil contests.

The real motives and objects of this rebellion seem not to have been perfectly understood. Many were disposed to think that, at first, Bacon designed

designed only to gratify the common resentments against the Indians, and to acquire for himself that reputation and influence which would result from conducting a successful war against them. Others believed that his real object was to seize the government and to maintain his authority by his influence with the people. Whatever might be his object, the insurrection was attended with much misery, and no good to Virginia.

Soon after the restoration of domestic quiet, Sir William Beverley returned to England, and was succeeded by Herbert Jeffreys, who relieved the colony from one of its complaints, by concluding peace with the Indians.

About the year 1680, while Lord Culpeper was governor, an essential change was made in the jurisprudence of the colony. In very early times the assembly appears to have been the supreme appellate court of the province. During the administration of Lord Culpeper, a controversy, supposed to have been excited by his lordship, arose between the burgesses and counsellors (who composed also the general court, or highest law tribunal except the assembly), concerning the right of counsellors to sit, as a portion of the assembly, on appeals from their own decisions. The burgesses claimed the exclusive privilege of judging in the last resort. This controversy was determined by taking entirely from the assembly this portion of

their power. By an arrangement of the crown, the decision of the general court, in any case of less value than three hundred pound sterling, was made final; and no appeal from their judgments, in cases of a larger amount, was admitted, but to the king in council.

After the rebellion of Bacon, the history of Virginia, to the revolution in 1688, affords no remarkable occurrence. The low price of tobacco, that perpetual source of dissatisfaction, still continued to disquiet the country. The proper remedy, an improvement of its quality by the establishment of inspections, had not yet been applied. Combinations were formed among the people, to raise its value by preventing for a time the growth of the article, and disorderly parties assembled and destroyed the tobacco plants in the beds, when it was too late again to sow the seed. To prevent these practices, very violent measures were adopted, and several persons were executed. Notwithstanding their discontents, the colony continued to increase. By a letter from Sir William Berkeley, dated June 1671, it appears that the population of the colony then amounted to about forty thousand persons, and that the militia consisted of about eight thousand infantry. There were no cavalry.

A letter from Lord Culpeper, in December 1681, supposes that there might be then in the colony

colony fifteen thousand fighting men. This calculation, however, is probably exaggerated, as the report of General Smith, made in 1680, from actual returns, represents the militia as consisting of eight thousand five hundred and sixty-eight men, of whom thirteen hundred were cavalry.

CHAPTER VI.

Prosperity of New England—War with Philip—Edward Randolph arrives in Boston—Maine adjudged by the king in council to Gorges, and is purchased by Massachussetts—Royal government erected in New Hampshire — Complaints against Massachussetts; their letters patent cancelled by a decree of the court of chancery—Death of Charles II.—James II. proclaimed—New commission for the temporary government of Massachussetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Narraghansett—Sir Edmond Andros—The charter of Rhode Island abrogated—Odious measures of the new government—Andros deposed—William and Mary proclaimed—Review of the proceedings of New York and the Jerseys—Pennsylvania granted to William Penn—Frame of government—Foundation of Philadelphia laid—Assembly convened—First acts of the legislature—Boundary line with Lord Baltimore settled—Schenectady destroyed.

AFTER the departure of the commissioners from New England, the condition of those colonies was, for some time, quiet and prosperous. The plague, the fire of London, and the discontents

tents among the people of England, occupied so entirely the attention of the king, as to suspend, for some years, the execution of his plans respecting Massachussetts. In the mean time, they entirely disregarded the acts of navigation, traded as an independent people, acquired a very considerable portion of the commerce of their sister colonies, and, of consequence, a rapid accumulation of their mercantile wealth. At the same time they governed, in peace, New Hampshire and Maine, and their settlements to the eastward made considerable progress.*

This state of prosperous repose was interrupted by a combination of Indians so formidable, and a war so bloody, as to threaten the very existence of all New England. This combination was formed by Philip, the second son of Massassoet, who had ruled a powerful tribe about the bay of Massachussetts, when the English first settled in the country. The father and elder son had been well disposed towards the colonists, and had cultivated their friendship; but Philip, who was a

* From a paper in possession of the British administration, it appears, that in 1673, New England was supposed to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms. Three-fourths of the wealth and population of the country were in Massachussetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families.—CHALMER.

spirited

spirited and judicious man, saw, with apprehensive eyes, the continuing growth of the English, and, by his conduct, soon excited their suspicions. He gave them, however, the most explicit assurances of his peaceful disposition; but, from the year 1670 till 1675, when hostilities actually commenced, he was secretly preparing for war, by obtaining arms, and negociating with the neighbouring tribes. The war was soon commenced, and was carried on with great vigour and various success. The savages, led on by a chief who believed that only the entire destruction of the English could rescue the natives from total ruin, made exertions, of which they had not been deemed capable. Several battles were fought, and all that savage fury and barbarous massacre which distinguish Indian warfare, were, on this occasion, experienced in their fullest extent. Wherever the enemy marched, their route was marked with murder, fire, and desolation. Massachussetts and Plymouth were the greatest sufferers. The Indians were, in those provinces especially, so interspersed among the whites, that there was scarcely a part of the country in perfect security, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relation or friend. For some time the incursions of the enemy could not be restrained. At length the steady efforts of the English prevailed; and, in August 1676, when the tide of success was running

ning strong in favour of the colonists, Philip, after losing his family and counsellors, was himself killed by one of his own nation, whom he had offended. After his death, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the enemy. Never had the people of New England been engaged in so fierce, so bloody, and so desolating a conflict as this. The warriors immediately under Philip were only estimated at five hundred men; but, by alliances, he had increased his force to about three thousand. In this estimate the eastern Indians are not included. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes; and, in the course of the war, six hundred persons, many of them composing the flower and strength of the country, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the enemy.

An attack was, about the same time, made by the eastern Indians on New Hampshire and Maine. There was probably an understanding between them and Philip; and it is also probable that they were, in some degree, under the influence of the French, to whom Acadié had been surrendered by the treaty of Breda, which was signed in 1667. After making peace with the Indians of Massachussetts and Plymouth, hostilities against New Hampshire and Maine were also terminated.

While the Indian war was raging with its utmost violence, the government of Massachussetts found

found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims set up by Masou and Gorges. The efforts of Charles to procure an appearance of the colony before the council, for the purpose of deciding on their title, having proved ineffectual, he at length determined to give judgment against the general court, in its absence, unless an appearance should be entered within six months. To give notice of this determination, he dispatched Edward Randolph, who arrived at Boston in the summer of 1676; and as letters were also received from the friends of the colony, leaving no doubt that this resolution would be adhered to, deputies were immediately dispatched to represent and support their interests.

It was determined by the king in council, that the line of Massachussetts could not be construed to run more than three miles north of the Menimack; and, of consequence, Maine was adjudged to Gorges. As the claim of Masou to New Hampshire was to the soil and not to the government, all title to which, though so long exercised, was now waved by Massachussetts, and the terretenants were not before the court, no other decision was made on that part of the case than what respected the boundary of Massachussetts, which, being against that colony, its jurisdiction over New Hampshire ceased. Charles had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of both Hampshire and

and Maine, which he designed to bestow on his favourite son the duke of Monmouth, but his poverty had hitherto prevented the contract. This was not unknown to Massachussetts; and that colony, finding the decision respecting its claim to Maine would necessarily be in favour of Gorges, purchased up his title for twelve hundred pounds sterling. This gave great offence to the king, who insisted on their relinquishing the contract; but Massachussetts, apologizing for what had been done, by declaring it to be in compliance with the wishes of the people, retained the purchase, and governed the country as a subordinate province.

The jurisdiction of Massachussetts over New Hampshire having ceased, in 1679 a royal government was erected in that province; the legislature of which, when convened, voted a very affectionate address to Massachussetts, acknowledging the former kindness of that colony, and declaring a willingness to have retained their former connection, had such been the pleasure of their common sovereign.

The temper and conduct of Massachussetts remaining unchanged, the charges against its government were renewed. The complaints of the quakers were perseveringly urged, and their neglect of the acts of navigation constituted a very serious accusation against them. In a letter to their

their agents, they declare these acts "to be an invasion of the rights, liberty, and property of the subjects of his majesty in the colony; they not being represented in parliament." But, as his majesty had signified his pleasure that they should be conformed to, "they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to, from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation." Their agents gave them correct information of the state of things in England, and assured them that only a fair compliance with the regulation respecting trade could secure them from a total breach with the crown. These honest representations produced the usual effect of unwelcome truths. They diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited in Boston an opinion that they had not advocated the interests of the colonies with sufficient zeal. In May 1679 they obtained leave to return. They carried with them a letter containing the requisitions of Charles, and were soon followed by Randolph, who had been appointed collector at Boston. The general court now manifested a disposition to appease their sovereign, and passed several laws in conformity with his wishes; but they declined complying with his directions to send over agents with full powers to attend to the new ordering of the province; and the collector

experienced

experienced insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws of trade. Almost every suit instituted by him for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures incurred, was decided against him at the cost of the prosecutor. This induced him to return to England, to solicit additional powers, which were equally disregarded.

The complaints of the king on these subjects were answered by professions of loyalty, and by partial compliances with the demands of the crown; but the main subject of contest remained unaltered.

At length, in May 1681, it was determined to send over agents to represent the colony in England. It was now well understood that the design of taking away their charter was entertained by the crown. Agents, empowered to submit to regulations of government, were, in other words, agents empowered to surrender their charter. Their agents were, therefore, instructed not to do, or consent to, any thing that should infringe the liberties granted by charter, or the government established thereby. On producing their powers, they were declared to be insufficient, and they were informed, that unless others, satisfactory in every respect, were immediately obtained, it was his majesty's pleasure that a *quo warranto* against their charter should issue without delay. This unpleasant intelligence was immediately communicated

municated to the general court, and was accompanied with information of the proceedings which had lately taken place in England; where many corporations had surrendered their charters; and, on the refusal of London, a *quo warranto* had issued against the city, which had been decided in favour of the crown. It was seriously referred to the general court to determine whether it was most advisable to submit intirely to his majesty's pleasure, or to suffer the *quo warranto* to issue. This question was as seriously taken up throughout the colony, where the decision was, "that it was better to die by other hands than their own." On receiving this final resolution of the court, the fatal writ issued, and was committed to the care of Randolph, who brought with him also a declaration from the king, that if the colony, before the prosecution of the writ, would submit to his pleasure, he would regulate their charter for his service, and their good; and with no further alteration than should be necessary for the support of his government there. The governor and assistants passed a vote of submission; but, the deputies refusing their assent thereto, it was decreed by the high court of chancery, in Trinity term of 1684, against the governor and company, "that their letters patent, and the enrolment thereof, be cancelled."

Charles did not survive this decree long enough

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to complete his system respecting the New England colonies, or to adopt a new government for Massachussetts. He died early in the following year; and his successor, from whose stern temper and high toned opinions respecting government the most gloomy presages of the future had been drawn, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy pomp.

These presages were soon verified. Immediately after the accession of James to the throne, a commission for a president and council, as a temporary government for Massachussetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Narraghansett, was made out. Their powers were intirely executive and judicial. The commission reached Boston in May 1686, and was laid before the general court, not as constituting any part of the government invested with political authority, but as being composed of individuals of the first respectability and influence in the province. The general court agreed unanimously to an address in answer to this communication, in which they say that the liberty of the subject, by the new system, is abridged both in matters of legislation and in laying taxes, and that it highly concerns those to whom it is directed to consider whether it be safe. They add, that if the newly-appointed officers mean to take upon themselves the government of the people, though they could not give assent

thereto, they should demean themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and, in due time, to their gracious prince, for relief.

The president named in the commission was Mr. Dudly, a native of Massachussetts, who seems, though attached to the royal prerogative, to have been also friendly to the rights of the people, and to those institutions which were so highly regarded by them. Any immediate alterations, therefore, in the interior arrangements of the country were avoided, and the commission transmitted a memorial to the lords of the council for the colonies, stating, that a well regulated assembly, to represent the people, was extremely necessary, and ought to be allowed. An abatement of the taxes imposed by parliament was also solicited. This moderate conduct but ill accorded with the wishes of those who were anxious to pay court to their sovereign, by prostrating before his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were of consequence soon transmitted to the administration, charging the commissioners with conniving at former practices, in opposition to the laws of trade, and countenancing ancient principles in religion and government.

Dissatisfied with the conduct of the commissioners, and being also of opinion that, for the purpose of uniting and consolidating the strength

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of the colonies, it was necessary to establish a permanent administration in New England, Sir Edmond Andros, who had governed New York, was appointed, during pleasure, captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachussetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narraghansett. He was empowered, with the consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make ordinances not inconsistent with the laws of the realm, which should be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record, and from their decisions an appeal lay to the king in council. The instructions given by James are said to have been judiciously drawn, and such as would have promoted the real interests of the colonists, had their political liberties been attended to, by vesting the legislative power in the representatives of the people.

Andros arrived at Boston in December 1686, and was at first well received. His popularity, however, was short-lived, and he was soon reproached with tyranny, and the most oppressive exactions. He immediately, in pursuance of his orders, dissolved the government of Rhode Island, broke its seal, and assumed the administration of the colony. In 1685, articles of high misdemeanor, charging them with breaches of their charter, and

opposition to the acts of navigation, had been exhibited against them, and referred to Sayer, the attorney-general, with orders to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the patent. The assembly stopped further proceedings, by passing an act formally surrendering their charter; and, in an address to the crown, "they humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." Their submission, however, availed them nothing. Their fate was involved in that of Massachussetts.

In pursuance of the determination to break the charter and unite the colonies, articles of misdemeanor had also been exhibited against the governor and company of Connecticut, at the same time with those of Rhode Island, and a writ of *quo warranto* was issued on them. In January 1687, the government of the colony wrote a letter to the secretary of state, desiring, with many professions of loyalty, to remain in its present situation; but if it should be the purpose of his majesty to dispose otherwise of them, submitting to the royal commands; and requesting that in the event of their being placed under another government, they might be annexed to Massachussetts, their former correspondents and confederates, with whose principles and manners they were acquainted. No further proceedings appear to have been had on the

the *quo warranto*; and Andros was ordered to accept the submission of the colony, and in conformity to its wishes, to annex it to Massachussetts. This order was executed in October. Sir Edmond Andros then appeared in Hartford, at the head of a small corps of regular troops,* where he

* Mr. Trumbull gives this curious account of the transaction:

"The assembly met as usual in October, and the government continued, according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmond with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hertford, where the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant, and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended, in defending it both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated, and kept in suspence until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid on the table where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished; and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hertford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree fronting the

demanded the charter, and declared the government to be dissolved. The colony submitted, but the charter itself was secreted, and concealed in a venerable elm, long afterwards deemed sacred by the people.

The grand legislative council, composed of distinguished persons in all the colonies, selected for that purpose by the crown, readily assembled, and proceeded to execute the duties assigned to it.

Independent of the political objections to the manner in which the government was now constituted, its measures were by no means calculated to conciliate the affections of the people.

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house of the honourable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted; but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away. Sir Edmond assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed in the following words:

"At a general court, at Hertford, October 31st, 1687: "His excellency Sir Edmond Andros, knight and captain-"general, and governor of his majesty's territories and domi-"nions in New England, by order from his majesty James "II. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the "31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government "of the colony of Connecticut, it being by his majesty an-"nexed to Massachussetts, and other colonies under his ex-"cellency's government."

The

The fees of office were enormous; and the regulations respecting divine worship, marriages, the acts of navigation, and taxes, were deemed highly oppressive. And, as if to complete the discontent already excited against him, the governor-general took occasion to cast a doubt on the validity of individual titles to land, which could not possibly fail to give very great and very general alarm.

To be relieved from these oppressions, Mather, a very eminent politician and divine, was deputed, in April 1688, to lay their complaints before the king. He was graciously received, but could effect no substantial change in the colonial administration. James had determined to reduce all the governments, as well those which were denominated proprietary, as others, to an immediate dependence on the crown; and it was to effect this purpose, that he had, in 1687, directed writs of *quo warranto* to issue, for the purpose of cancelling those of their several charters, which yet remained in force. This plan was adopted with the double intention of establishing his favourite system of government, and by combining the force of the colonies, as far as the Delaware, of forming a barrier to the encroachments of France, which were now becoming formidable. During this reign, Canada was pushed to the southward of Lake Champlain, and fortresses were erected within

within the immense forests which then separated that province from New York and New England. It was with a view to this object, that a new commission was, in March 1688, made out for Andros, annexing New York and Jersey to his government, and appointing Francis Nicholson his lieutenant.

The dissatisfactions of the people continued to increase, and every act of the government, even those which were in themselves laudable, was viewed through the medium of prejudice. As one inſtance of this temper, an unsuccessful expedition, undertaken in November, against the eastern Indians, who had committed hostilities on the frontiers, was ascribed to a wish to starve and freeze the soldiers.

At length these latent ill humours burst forth into action. In the spring of 1689, some vague intelligence was received, by way of Virginia, concerning the proceedings of the Prince of Orange, in England. The old magistrates and leading men silently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend him, but determined to commit nothing unnecessarily to hazard, and quietly to wait an event which no movement of theirs could accelerate or retard. Entirely different was the conduct of the body of the people. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their impatience, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. Without any apparent preconcerted

plan,

plan, they suddenly rose on the 18th of April; the drums beat to arms; the people flocked together from every part of the town of Boston; the boys assembled with clubs, encouraging each other to fight; the governor, and about fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned; and the government once more placed in the hands of the antient magistrates. Their apprehensions of danger, from this precipitate measure, were soon afterwards quieted by the information, that William and Mary had been declared king and queen of England. They were immediately proclaimed in Boston, with unusual pomp, and with demonstrations of unaffected joy.

The example set by Massachussetts was quickly followed by Connecticut and Rhode Island. Andros was no sooner known to be in prison, than he was deposed also in Connecticut; and in both colonies the ancient charter and form of government were resumed: and the laws, as they existed before the administration of Andros, were re-established.

In New Hampshire, a convention was called, in which it was determined to re-annex itself to Massachussetts; and deputies were elected to represent them in the general court. This union continued to be the wish of that colony, but the king refused to indulge its requests; and afterwards, in 1692, appointed for it a distinct governor.

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The treaty of Breda, which restored Acadié to France, confirmed New Netherlands to England. Quiet possession of that extensive and valuable territory was retained until 1673. England was then engaged in a second war against Holland; and, in July, a small Dutch squadron, under the command of Binkies and Eevertzen, appeared before the fort at New York, which surrendered, without firing a shot. The example was followed by the city and country; and in a very few days, the submission of New Netherlands was complete. This acquisition being made, the old claim to Long Island was renewed, and some attempts were made to wrest it from Connecticut. That province, however, having consulted its confederates, and found that offensive operations against the Dutch would be agreeable to the union, declared war against them; and not only defended its own possessions successfully, but prepared an expedition against New York, which was only postponed on account of the lateness of the season. The termination of the war with Holland prevented its being renewed the succeeding year, and reinstated the English in the possessions they had lost.

In 1674 a treaty of peace was signed, at Westminster; by one article of which it was stipulated, "that whatsoever may have been taken, during the war, should be restored to the former possessor." Under this article, New Netherlands was

was re-united to the English empire in America.

To remove all controversy concerning his title, which had been originally acquired while the granted lands were in possession of the Dutch, the Duke of York, after the peace of 1674, obtained from the king a renewal of his patent; and appointed the same Sir Edmond Andros, who has been mentioned already, governor of his territories in America, including New Jersey; his former grant of which he considered as annulled, by the conquest thereof in 1673. Andros disregarding the former decision of the commissioners, laid claim to that part of Connecticut which lies west of the river of that name, as being within the patent of the Duke of York; and during the war with Philip, attempted to support his claim by force of arms. He experienced, however, so serious and determined a resistance on the part of Connecticut, that he was compelled to relinquish an attempt on Saybrooke; after which he returned to New York. The taxes, which had been laid by the Dutch, were collected, and duties for a limited time were imposed, by the authority of the duke, without legislative intervention. This system, which was submitted to reluctantly, excited great discontents; and the public resentment was directed first against the governor, whose conduct was inquired into and approved; and afterwards

terwards against the collector, who was seized and sent to England, but never prosecuted. The government in New York, sensible of the extreme difficulty of governing a people on principles totally repugnant to all their settled opinions, repeatedly, but ineffectually, urged to the duke the policy of placing the colony on the same footing with its neighbours, by creating a local legislature, one branch of which should be composed of the representatives of the people. It was not until the year 1683, when the revenue laws were about to expire, when the right of the duke to re-enact them was contested in America and doubted in England, that he appointed a new governor, with instructions to call an assembly.*

In 1674, Lord Berkeley assigned his interest in the Jerseys to the celebrated William Penn; and his three associates, soon perceiving the inconvenience of a joint property, they divided the province, in 1676, with Carteret, who still retained his interest, to whom they released East Jersey, and received in turn from him a conveyance for the western part of that province. The government of East Jersey was resigned by the Duke of York to the proprietor, but he retained that of West Jersey as an appendage to New York, until

* Smith. Hutch. Chal. Trum.

August

August 1680, when on a reference to Sir William Jones, the title was decided against him, after which he formally released all claim on East Jersey, and notice of these grants was given to Andros, the governor of New York. Soon after this, Sir George Carteret transferred his right to William Penn, and eleven others of the same religion, who immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the Earl of Perth and eleven others, who, in March 1683, obtained a conveyance from the Duke of York directly to themselves.

During these transactions, continual exertions were made to re-annex the Jerseys to New York. Carteret had endeavoured to participate in the advantage of commerce, by establishing a port at Amboy; but Andros seized and condemned the vessels trading thither, and was supported by the duke in this exercise of power. The assembly of New York claimed the right of taxing them; and the collector continued, under his antient commission, to exercise within their territory his former authority. On his complaining, after the accession of the Duke of York to the throne, that, when he prosecuted vessels, the juries found their verdicts against the most undoubted facts, a writ of *quo warranto* was directed to issue; and, in April 1686, the attorney-general was ordered to prosecute it with effect. The English judges did not then hold their offices during good behaviour; and

and the proprietors of East Jersey, confident that the decision on the *quo warranto* would be against them, surrendered their patent to the crown, praying only a grant to the soil: soon after which the Jerseys were annexed to New England.

Dongan, who, in 1683, succeeded Andros in the government of New York, took a deep interest in the affairs of the five nations, who had been engaged in bloody and almost continual wars with the French of Canada. By establishing a settlement at Detroit, and a fort at Missilimakinack, the French had been enabled to extend their commerce among the numerous tribes of Indians, who then hunted on the banks of the great lakes, and the upper branches of the Mississippi. They excluded the people of New York from any share whatever in this gainful commerce; in consequence of which Dongan solicited and obtained permission to aid the five nations. This order, however, was soon countermanded, and a treaty was negociated in 1686, whereby it was stipulated, that no assistance should be given by the English colonists to the savages. Soon after this Dongan was recalled, and New York annexed to New England, under the government of Andros, who, as has been already stated, ruled the colony by Mr. Nicholson, his deputy.

From the accession of James to the English throne, he had discontinued the assemblies of New

New York, and empowered the governor, with the consent of his council, to make laws as near as might be to those of England. The reinstatement of this arbitrary system gave great and general disgust; and, together with the apprehension of the establishment of the roman catholic religion, prepared the people of New York, as well as those of the other colonies, for that revolution which took all power out of hands so accustomed to abuse it. On receiving intelligence of the revolution at Boston, the militia were raised by a Captain Jacob Leisler, who took possession of the fort in the name of King William, and drove Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, out of the country. The leading men, though well disposed to the revolution, were dissatisfied with the conduct and rule of Leisler; and, in this event, was laid the foundation of two parties, who long divided New York, and whose mutual animosities were the source of much uneasiness and mischief to the province.

While holding an interest in Jersey, William Penn acquired a tolerable accurate knowledge of the country west of the river Delaware; and, dissatisfied with his numerous partners, he formed the design of acquiring to himself a separate estate. On his petition, a charter was issued, in 1681, in which Charles granted to him, in absolute property, by the title of Pennsylvania, that tract of country bounded on the east by the river

Delaware, extending westward five degrees of longitude, stretching to the north from twelve miles northward of Newcastle to the forty-third degree of latitude, and limited on the south by a circle of twelve miles, drawn round Newcastle to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude.

In this charter the acts of navigation were particularly recognised: a local legislature was created, and provision made, that a duplicate of their laws should be transmitted, within five years, to the king in council—any of which that were found repugnant to those of England, or inconsistent with the authority of the crown, might be declared void in six months. This charter conveyed nearly the same powers and privileges with that of Maryland, but recognises the right of parliament to tax the colony.

Penn soon commenced the settlement of Pennsylvania, and immediately asserted a claim to a part of the territory which had been considered by Lord Baltimore as within the bounds of Maryland. This produced a controversy, between the two parties, productive of considerable inconvenience and irritation to both.

In April 1682, he published a frame of government for Pennsylvania.* Its chief intention was

* This frame of government is prefaced by a curious political disquisition; an extract from which, it is presumed, will not

declared to be "for the support of power, in reverence with the people; and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free

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not be unacceptable. "For particular forms and modes, says this uncommon legislator, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are—

"First, That the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. It is true, they seem to agree to the end, to wit, happiness; but, in the means they differ as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason, and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

"Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies, have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.

"Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject; but I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three. Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

"But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that, in good hands, would not do well enough; and story tells us, the best, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great or

by their just obedience; and the magistrates honourable for their just administration: for, liberty without obedience is confusion; and obe-

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good. Witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and, as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too; wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad; if it be ill, they will cure it. But, if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

"I know some say, let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them; but let them consider that, though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or evaded by ill men; but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. It is true, good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where they have not power to escape or abolish them, and the people are generally wise and good; but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it, viz. men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth; for which after ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders, and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

"These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing frame and conditional laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

"But,

dience without liberty is slavery." To carry this intention into effect, it was ordained, that the assembly should consist, first, of the whole body of freemen, afterwards of two hundred and, never of more than five hundred persons. A provincial council was established, consisting of seventy-two members, to be chosen by the freemen; a third of whom annually went out of office, and were replaced by others chosen in the same manner. After the expiration of the first seven years, an interval of one year was required, before any person going out of the council could be re-elected. The governor, possessed of three votes, presided in this council, which was invested with the executive power, and with an authority

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"But, next to the power of necessity (which is a solicitor that will take no denial), this induced me to a compliance, that we have (with reverence to God and good conscience to men), to the best of our skill, contrived and composed the frame and laws of this government to the great end of all government, viz. to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for, liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness, is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy; where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but, where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: thus, where both meet, the government is like to endure."

to prepare bills to be laid before the assembly, which bills were to be published and affixed in the most noted places thirty days before the meeting of the legislature.

This frame of government, after many fruitless attempts to amend it, was at length laid aside as inapplicable to the condition of the colony, and a more simple form, resembling in its principal features those established in the other provinces, was adopted, which remained until the proprietary government itself was dissolved.

In August 1682, Penn, after long solicitation, obtained, from the Duke of York, a conveyance of the town of Newcastle, with the territory twelve miles around it, and that tract of land extending from thence southward, on the Delaware, to Cape Henlopen. Soon after this, he set out for America, accompanied by about ten thousand emigrants, and, in the October following, landed on the banks of the Delaware, where, in addition to the colonists sent out by himself, he found settlements, consisting of about three thousand persons, composed of Swedes, Dutch, Finlanders, and English.

He cultivated with care the good will of the natives, and purchased from them, at a satisfactory price, such lands as were necessary for the present use of the colony. At this time, the foundation of Philadelphia was laid, which, we are assured,

assured, contained, within twelve months from its commencement, nearly one hundred houses. An assembly was called, which, instead of being composed of all the freemen, according to the frame of government, was, at the request of the people themselves, constituted of their representatives. Many wise and salutary laws were enacted, and, among others, one annexing the territories (for so was the late purchase from the Duke of York denominated) to the province, and extending to the former all the privileges of the latter. Universal freedom in religion was established, and every foreigner, who promised allegiance to the king, and obedience to the proprietary, was declared a freeman.

Extremely anxious to extend his limits to the Chessapeake, Penn, soon after his arrival, met Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, for the purpose of adjusting their boundaries. The patent of that nobleman calls for the fortieth degree of north latitude, and he proposed to determine, by actual observation, where that degree intersected the Delaware. Penn, on the other hand, insisted on finding the fortieth degree by mensuration, from the Capes of Virginia, the true situation of which had been already ascertained; and, each adhering firmly to his own proposition, no agreement could be concluded between them. The contest was referred to the committee of plantations, who, after

the crown had descended on James, decided that the peninsula between the bays of Chessapeake and Delaware should be divided into two equal parts, by a line drawn from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree, and adjudged that the land lying from that line towards the Delaware should belong to his majesty, and the other moiety to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was ordered to be immediately executed.

Pennsylvania was slow in acknowledging the Prince and Princess of Orange. The government continued to be administered in the name of James for some time after the abdication of the crown by that monarch was known. At length, however, William and Mary were proclaimed; and Penn had the address to obviate the unfavourable impression made on them, by this delay in recognising their authority.

CHAPTER VII.

New charter of Massachussetts—Execution of Leisler War with France—Expedition against Port Royal, and against Quebec—Acadié recovered by France, and Pemaquid taken—Attempt on St. John's—Peace—Affairs of New York—of Virginia—Disputes between England and France about the boundaries of their American colonies—Recommencement of hostilities with France—Quotas of men required from the respective colonies—Treaty of neutrality between the French and five nations—Expedition against Port Royal fails—Incursion into Massachussetts—Plan for invasion of Canada—Port Royal taken — Expedition against Quebec — Treaty of Utrecht—Affairs of Carolina—Expedition against St. Augustine—Attempt to establish the episcopal church in Carolina—That colony invaded—Bills of credit issued—Legislature continues itself—Massacre in North Carolina by the Indians—Tuscaroras defeated—Scheme of a bank—Contests of the legislature of New York with Lord Cornbury—Expedition against Montreal— Adjustment of boundary line between Massachussetts and Connecticut.

THE revolution, which placed the Prince and Princess of Orange on the throne, revived, in Massachussetts, the hope of recovering that charter.

charter to which the people were devoted, because they judged of its merits rather from the practice which had prevailed under it than from its letter. Elections were held by authority of the temporary government; and the representatives assembled, at Boston, immediately requested the council to take upon themselves, until orders should be received from England, the powers and authority vested in them by the charter. This proposition was acceded to, and the ancient system re-established.

It was soon perceived, by the agents of Massachussetts, that the restoration of the old charter was not to be hoped for. The king very early discovered his determination to retain, in his own hands, the appointment of the governor. A new charter, with as many of the privileges of the old as were attainable, was, therefore, all that could be expected. In the mean time, express authority was granted the colony to exercise the powers of government, according to their ancient system, until the new arrangement should be made. The vessel, by which these directions were transmitted, carried also orders that Sir Edmond Andros, and those imprisoned with him, should be sent to England.

The general court deputed two of their body of assistants, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes, to join their

their agents already in England, and instructed them to solicit, in the parliament and elsewhere, the confirmation of their beloved charter. These solicitations, however, were unsuccessful. The king adhered inflexibly to his first resolution; and, at length, a new charter was framed, certainly more eligible than the first, in many respects, but in which were made some very important changes, affecting radically the independence which had been so long practically enjoyed by the colony. By this new system, the governor, deputy-governor, and secretary, were to be appointed by the crown, instead of being chosen by the colony. The governor could call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve, the assembly at pleasure; he had the appointment of all military officers solely; and, with the consent of his council, of all officers belonging to the courts of justice. Sir William Phipps, who was appointed the first governor, arrived at Boston with the charter in May 1692. He immediately issued writs for a general assembly, which met the 8th of June following, and which joyfully accepted the charter, though a considerable party had been formed to oppose it. This charter united the colony of Plymouth to Massachussetts, and also annexed Nova Scotia to that province; but, contrary to the wishes of both colonies, it omitted New Hampshire,

shire, which, from this time, became permanently a separate government.*

In New York, Leisler obtained the entire control of the lower country. He associated with himself, in the government, a few trusty persons, whom he denominated a committee of safety, and over whom he presided. Some of the principal characters of the city, dissatisfied with seeing a man of low birth, without education, in possession of the supreme power, retired to Albany, where a convention of the people assembled, who determined to hold the fort and country for the king and queen, but not to submit to the authority of Leisler. On receiving intelligence of these transactions, Jacob Milbourne was detached, with a small force, to reduce the place; but, finding that the people adhered to the convention, and that his harangues against James and popery had no influence on them, he returned to New York. The next spring, he appeared again before the fort, and, being favoured by an irruption of the Indians, he obtained the possession of it. The principal members of the convention immediately absconded; upon which, their effects were seized and confiscated. This harsh measure produced a

* Hutch.

degree

degree of irritation which was, for a long time, transmitted from father to son.

Leisler retained in his hands, without further opposition, the supreme power in New York, until the arrival of Colonel Henry Slaughter, in March 1691, who had, some time before, been appointed governor of the province.

Though well informed of the commission which Slaughter bore, this weak, infatuated man refused to yield the government to him, and shewed a disposition, without the ability, to resist. This ill-judged obstinacy threw the governor, who soon obtained possession of the fort and garrison, entirely into the arms of the opposite party. Leisler and Milbourne were arrested, tried for high treason, condemned, and executed. Their estates were confiscated, but were afterwards restored to their families.*

While these things were transacting in the interior, the colonies of New England and New York were exposed to a bloody and desolating war with the French of Canada, and the Indians. The English nation had long viewed, with apprehension, the advances of France towards universal sovereignty, and, with infinite disgust, the influence of Louis XIV. in their cabinet. On the

* Smith.

elevation

elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne, they entered with alacrity into all his views for opposing barriers to the power, and restraints to the ambition, of that haughty monarch. The war between the two nations, which was soon proclaimed, extended itself to their possessions in America. De Calliers, who sailed from Canada for France in 1688, had projected a scheme for the conquest of New York, which was adopted by Louis. Caffiniere commanded the ships which sailed from Rochefort on this expedition, subject, however, to the Count de Frontignac, who was general of the land forces destined to march from Canada by the route of Sorel river and the lake Champlain. The fleet and troops arrived, in September, at Chebucta, from whence the count proceeded to Quebec, leaving orders with Caffiniere to sail to New York, and continue in the bay until the first of December, when, if no further orders were received, he was to proceed to Port Royal, where he was to unlade the ammunition, stores, and provision, and then return to France.

On arriving at Quebec, the count found all Canada in the utmost distress. The five nations had, in July 1688, suddenly and unexpectedly landed twelve hundred men on the island of Montreal, and put to death about a thousand of the French, whom they found in the most perfect security. The place was again attacked in October, and

and the lower part of the island wholly destroyed. On receiving this calamitous intelligence, fort Frontignac, on lake Ontario, was evacuated, and two vessels, which had been constructed there, were burned. The Indians continued to make such incursions into Canada, that the fields could not be cultivated, and a dreadful scarcity ensued. This state of things saved New York, for the present.

Count Frontignac, who, in his sixty-eighth year, possessed the activity, the courage, and the enterprise of youth, re-embarked, a few days after his landing, in a canoe, for Montreal, where his presence was absolutely necessary to reanimate the inhabitants, and regain their Indian allies. He exerted himself to the utmost, to make peace with the five nations, with whom he held a great council at Onaudago, in January 1690. At this council, the Indians shewed some disposition towards a peace, without concluding one. To influence their deliberations, and raise the depressed spirits of the Canadians, he sent out several parties against the English colonies. That against New York, consisting of about two hundred French, and some Cahnuaga Indians, was commanded by D'Aillbout de Mantil and Le Moyne. After twenty-two days march, with their provisions on their backs, through a wilderness covered deep with snow, they arrived, on February 8, 1690,

1690, about eleven o'clock at night, at Schenectady, a village seventeen miles north-west of Albany. Finding the gates unshut, and no guard, they immediately entered the town, the inhabitants of which were asleep; and, dividing themselves into small parties of six or seven men, invested every house at the same time. No alarm was given until the doors were broken open, and then commenced the perpetration of those barbarities which add so much to the ordinary horrors of war. The whole village was instantly in a blaze; women with child were ripped open, and their infants cast into the flames, or dashed against the posts of the doors. Sixty persons were massacred, twenty-seven carried into captivity, and the rest fled naked, through a deep snow and terrible storm, to Albany. In the flight, twenty-five lost their limbs, from the severity of the frost. The town of Schenectady was pillaged till about noon the next day, when the enemy marched off with their plunder, having first killed such horses and cattle as they could not carry with them. They were pursued by a party of young men from Albany, who were joined by some Mohawks, and about five-and-twenty of them were killed and captured.*

* Smith.

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In the spring and summer of 1689, several settlements and forts, in New Hampshire and Maine, were successfully attacked by the Indians, who, wherever they were victorious, practised their usual cruelties.

Knowing well that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadié, the general court of Massachussetts were meditating, during the winter, an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed, the 28th of April, under Sir William Phipps, and almost without opposition took possession of Port Royal, and the whole coast between that place and the New England settlements. The fleet returned, the 30th of May, having taken nearly plunder enough to discharge the expense of the equipment; but, in March and May, two detachments, made by Count Frontignac, the one from Trois Rivieres, and the other from Quebec, attacked the Salmon Falls, and Fort Casco, where they killed and took about one hundred and eighty persons. In addition to this, the frontiers were kept in a state of perpetual alarm, by the continued incursions of the Indians.

A vessel had been dispatched to England in April, with letters, urging upon the king the importance of conquering Canada, and soliciting his aid to the colonists in making that attempt. He was,

however, too much occupied in Europe to attend to America, and it was determined to prosecute the expedition without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men, who should march by the way of Lake Champlain to the attack of Montreal, while the troops of Massachussetts should proceed, by sea, to Quebec. The fleet sailed from Nantasket, the 9th of August, till which time it had been detained, in the hope of a powerful co-operation on the part of England. It consisted of between thirty and forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns; and the whole number of men on board amounted to about two thousand. This expedition was also commanded by Sir William Phipps, a brave man, but unqualified for so difficult an enterprize. He did not arrive before Quebec until October, when it was too late to do any thing, but by a *coup de main*. Instead of attempting to avail himself of a first impression, Sir William is charged with having wasted two or three days in sight of the place, after which he summoned it to surrender, which being refused, he landed, on the 8th, all his effective men, amounting to between twelve and thirteen hundred, who did not attempt to cross Charles River, which lay between them and the town. They marched until night under a scattering fire from the French and Indians,

dians, who were concealed in the woods. On examining a deserter, they received such an account of the French force as entirely discouraged them.*

* The annals of Massachussetts, for this period, exhibit one of those wonderful cases of popular delusion which, infecting every class of society, and gaining strength from its very extravagance; triumphing over human reason, and trampling on human life; reveal to man his own imbecility, and would instruct him, if the experience of other times could ever instruct, how cautiously he should, in any case, countenance a departure from that moderation, and those safe and sure principles of moral rectitude, which have stood the test of time, and have received the approbation of the wise and great in all ages. A very detailed and interesting account of the humiliating and affecting events here alluded to, has been given by Mr. Hutchinson, but is too long to be inserted entire in this work They were however of too much magnitude, while passing, to be intirely unnoticed even at this day.

In Great Britain, as well as in America, the opinion had long prevailed, that, by the aid of malignant spirits, certain persons possessed supernatural powers, which were usually exercised in the mischievous employment of tormenting others; and the criminal code of both countries was disgraced with laws for the punishment of witchcraft. With considerable intervals between them, some few instances had occurred in New England of putting this sanguinary law in force; but, in the year 1692, this weakness was converted into frenzy; and, after exercising successfully its destructive rage on those miserable objects whose wayward dispositions had excited the ill opinion, or whose age and wretchedness ought to have secured them the pity, of their neighbours; its baneful activity

The troops of Connecticut and New York had been disappointed in receiving the assistance expected from the five nations, who neither joined

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was extended to persons in every situation of life, and many of the most reputable members of society became its victims.

The first scene of this distressing tragedy was laid in Salem. The public mind had been prepared for its exhibition by some publication, stating the evidence adduced in former witchcraft, both in Old and New England, in which full proof was supposed to have been given of the guilt of the accused. Soon after this, some young girls, in Boston, had accustomed themselves to fall into fits, and had affected to be struck dead on the production of certain popular books; such as the Assembly's Catechism, and Cotton's Milk for Babes, while they could read Oxford's Jests, or Popish and Quaker books, with many others which were deemed profane, without being in any manner affected by them. These pretences, instead of exposing the fraud to instant detection, seem to have promoted the cheat; and they were supposed to be possessed of the devil, who were utterly confounded at the production of those holy books.

"Sometimes," says Mr. Hutchinson, "they were deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all their disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints, would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries, of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, &c. and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen." At length, an old Irish woman, not of good character, who had given one of these girls some harsh language, and to whom all this

diabolical

them with their warriors, nor, in conformity with their engagements, prepared canoes, in which they might pass the lakes. The commissary too had

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diabolical mischief was attributed, was apprehended by the magistracy; and, neither confessing nor denying the fact, was, on the certificate of physicians that she was *compos mentis*, condemned and executed. An account of the circumstances of this case was published by a Mr. Baxton, with a preface, in which he says, "the evidence is so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate sadducee who will not believe."

Sir William Phipps, the governor, on his arrival from England, brought with him opinions which could not fail to strengthen the popular prejudice; and the lieutenant-governor supported one which was well calculated to render it sanguinary. He maintained that though the devil might appear in the shape of a guilty person, he could never be permitted to assume that of an innocent one. Consequently, when those who affected to perceive the form which tormented them, designated any particular person as guilty, the guilt of that person was established, because he could not, if innocent, be personated by an evil spirit.

The public mind being thus predisposed, four girls, in Salem, complained of being afflicted in the same manner with those in Boston, and the physicians, unable to account for the disorder, attributed it to the witchcraft; and an old Indian woman in the neighbourhood was fixed on as the witch. Those girls were much attended to and rendered of great importance by the public as well as private notice which was taken of them. Several private fasts were kept at the house of the minister, whose daughter one of them was; several more public were kept by the whole village; and, at length, a general fast was proclaimed through the colony, to seek to God to

neglected to lay up the necessary supplies of provisions, and they found themselves obliged to retreat, without attacking Montreal. This gave the

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rebuke Satan, &c. The effect of these measures, as well as of the compassion expressed for them by all visitors, and the deep interest taken by all in their pretended misfortunes, not only confirmed the girls in an imposture productive of such flattering attentions, but produced other competitors, who were ambitious of the same distinction. Several other persons were now bewitched; and not only the old Indian, but two other old women, the one bed-ridden, and the other subject to melancholy and distraction, were accused, as witches. It was necessary to keep up the agitation already excited, by furnishing fresh subjects for astonishment; and, in a short time, the accusations extended to persons who were in reputable situations. The manner in which these accusations were received, evidenced such a degree of public credulity, that the impostors seem to have been convinced of their power to assail with impunity any characters, which caprice or malignity might select for their victims. Such was the prevailing infatuation, that, in one instance, a child of five years old was charged as an accomplice in these pretended crimes; and, if the nearest relatives of the accused manifested either tenderness for their situation, or resentment at the injury done their friends, they drew upon themselves the vengeance of these profligate impostors, and were involved in the dangers from which they were desirous of rescuing those with whom they were most intimately connected. For going out of church when a person of fair fame was believed to be strongly alluded to from the pulpit, a sister was charged as a witch; and for accompanying, on her examination, a wife who had been apprehended, the husband was involved in the same prosecution, and

French general an opportunity of opposing to Phipps the whole force of Canada. The ships were drawn up the next evening before the town, but

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and was condemned and executed. In the presence of the magistrates, those flagitious persons, whose testimony supported these charges, affected extreme agony, and attributed to those whom they accused the power of torturing them by a look, and without appearing to approach them. The examinations were all taken in writing, and several of them are detailed at full length in Mr. Hutchinson's History of Massachussetts. They exhibit a deplorable degree of blind infatuation on one side, and the most atrocious profligacy on the other, which, if not well attested, could scarcely be supposed to have existed. One of them will be sufficient to convey an idea of the course which was pursued.

"At a court held at Salem, the 11th of April, 1692, by the honoured Thomas Danforth, deputy-governor.

"Question.—John, who hurt you?—Answer. A goody Proctor first, and then Cloyse.

"Q. What did she do to you?—A. She brought the book to me.

"Q. John, tell the truth; who hurts you? Have you been hurt?—A. The first was a gentlewoman I saw.

"Q. Who next?—A. Goody Cloyse.

"Q. But who hurt you next?—A. Goody Proctor.

"Q. What did she do to you?—A. She choaked me and brought the book.

"Q. How oft did she come to torment you?—A. A good many times; she and goody Cloyse.

"Q. Do they come to you in the night as well as at the day?—A. They come most in the day?

"Q. Who?—A. Goody Cloyse and goody Proctor.

received from the batteries much more damage than they did to the place. On the 11th, the army re-embarked with precipitation, and, after

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"Q. Where did she take hold of you?—A. Upon my throat, to stop my breath.

"Q. Do you know goody Cloyse and goody Procter?—A. Yes; here is goody Cloyse.

"Q. by Cloyse. When did I hurt thee?—A. A great many times, Cloyse.

"Oh! you are a grievous liar.

"Q. What did the goody Cloyse do to you?—A. She pinched and bit me until the blood came.

"Q. How long since this woman came and hurt you.—A. Yesterday, at meeting.

"Q. At any time before?—A. Yes, a great many times.

"Q. Mary Walcot, who hurts you?—A. A goody Cloyse.

"Q. What did she do to you?—A. She hurt me.

"Q. Did she bring the book?—A. Yes.

"Q. What were you to do with it?—A. To touch it and be well.

"Then the witness fell into a fit.

"Q. Doth she come alone?—A. Sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with goody Nurse, and goody ——, and a great many I do not know.

"Then she fell into a fit again.

"Q. Abigail Williams, did you see a company at Mr. Paris's house eat and drink?—A. Yes, that was their sacrament.

"Q. How many were there?—A. About forty, and goody Cloyse and goody Goode were their deacons.

"Q. What was it?—A. They say it was our blood, and they had it twice that day.

"Q. Mary

holding several councils of war, returned to Boston, where they arrived on the 13th of November.

The general court of Massachussetts had not

"Q. Mary Walcot, have you seen a white man?—A. Yes, Sir, a great many times.

"Q. What sort of a man was he?—A. A fine grave man; and when he came he made all the witches to tremble. —— —— confirmed the same, and said they had such a sight at deacon Ingerroll's.

"Q. Who was at deacon Ingerroll's then?—A. Goody Cloyse, goody Nurse, goody Corey, and goody Goode. Then Sarah Cloyse asked for water, and sat down as one seized with a dying fainting fit; and several of the afflicted fell into fits, and some of them cried out, Oh! her spirit is gone to prison to her sister Nurse.

"Q. Elizabeth Proctor; you understand whereof you are charged, viz. to be guilty of sundry acts of witchcraft; what say you to it? Speak the truth. And so you that are afflicted, you must speak the truth, as you will answer it before God another day. Mary Walcot, doth this woman hurt you?—A. I never saw her so as to be hurt by her.

"Q. Mary Lewis, does she hurt you?—Her mouth was stopped.

"Q. Ann Putnam, does she hurt you?—She could not speak.

"Q. Abigail Williams, does she hurt you?—Her hand was thrust into her own mouth.

"Q. John, does she hurt you?—A. This is the woman that came in her shift and choaked me.

"Q. Did she ever bring the book?—A. Yes, Sir.

"Q. What to do?—A. To write.

"Q. What, this woman?—A. Yes, Sir.

"Q. Are

even conjectured that the expedition might possibly miscarry. They seem to have calculated not only on success, but on acquiring sufficient

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"Q. Are you sure of it?—A. Yes, Sir.

"Again Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam were spoken to by the court; but neither of them could make any answer, by reason of dumbness or other fits.

"Q. What do you say, goody Proctor, to these things?—A. I take God in heaven to be my witness that I know nothing of it, no more than the child unborn.

"Q. Ann Putnam, doth this woman hurt you?—A. Yes, Sir, a great many times.

"Then the accused looked on them, and they fell into fits.

"Q. She doth not bring the book to you, does she?—A. Yes, Sir, often, and saith she hath made her maid set her hand to it.

"Q. Abigail Williams, does this woman hurt you?—A. Yes, Sir, often.

"Q. Does she bring the book to you?—A. Yes.

"Q. What would she have you do with it?—A. To write in it, and I shall be well.

"Did not you, said Abigail to the accused, tell me that your maid had written? Answer, Proctor.—Dear child, it is not so. There is another judgment, dear child.

"Then Abigail and Ann had fits. By and by they cried out, look you, there is goody Proctor upon the ————. By and by both of them cried out upon goodman Proctor himself, and said he was a wizard. Immediately many, if not all, of the bewitched had grievous fits.

"Q. Ann Putnam, who hurt you?—A. Goodman Proctor, and his wife too.

"Afterwards some of the afflicted cried, there is Proctor going

treasure from the enemy to pay their soldiers. The returning army, finding the government totally unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on

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going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet; and her feet were immediately taken up.

"Q. What do you say, goodman Proctor, to these things? —A. I know not; I am innocent.

"Abigail Williams cried out, there is goodman Proctor going to Mrs. Pope, and immediately said Pope fell into a fit. You see the devil will deceive you; the children could see what you was going to do before the woman was hurt. I would advise you to repentance, for the devil is bringing you out. Abigail Williams cried out again, there is goodman Proctor going to hurt goody Bibber; and immediately goody Bibber fell into a fit. There was the like of Mary Walcot, and divers others. Benjamin Gould gave his testimony, that he had seen goodman ——— and his wife, Proctor and his wife, goody Cloyse, goody Nurse, and goody Griggs, in his chamber last Thursday night. Elizabeth Hubbard was in a trance during the whole examination. During the examination of Elizabeth Proctor, Abigail Williams and Ann Putnam both made offer to strike at said Proctor; but when Abigail's hand came near, it opened, whereas it was made up into a fist before, and came down exceedingly lightly as it drew near to said Proctor; and at length, with open and extended fingers, touched Proctor's head very lightly. Immediately Abigail cried out, her fingers, her fingers, her fingers burned; and Ann Putnam took on most grievously of her husband, and sunk down."

Upon such senseless jargon as this, many persons of sober lives and unblemished characters were committed to prison; and the public prejudices had already pronounced their doom.

Against

the point of mutinying for their wages. In this state of extreme difficulty, bills of credit were issued, and were received in lieu of money. A tax

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Against charges of this nature, thus conducted, no defence could possibly be made. To be criminated, was to be found guilty. The very grossness of the imposition seemed to secure its success, and the absurdity of the accusation to establish the verity of the charge.

The consternation became almost universal. It was soon perceived that all attempts to establish innocence must be ineffectual; and the person accused could only hope to obtain safety by confessing the truth of the charge, and criminating others. The extent of crime to be introduced by such a state of things, may readily be conceived. Every feeling of humanity is shocked, when we learn, that, to save themselves, children accused their parents; in some instances, parents their children; and, in one case, sentence of death was pronounced against a husband, on the testimony of his wife.

There were examples of persons who, under the terrors of examination, confessed themselves guilty, and accused others; but, unable afterwards to support the reproaches of conscience, retracted their confessions, under the persuasions, that death would be the consequence of doing so. One of these retractions will be inserted.

"The humble declaration of Margaret Jacobs, unto the honoured court now sitting at Salem, sheweth: That whereas your poor and humble declarant, being closely confined here in Salem gaol, for the crime of witchcraft, which crime, thanks be to the Lord, I am altogether ignorant of, as will appear at the great day of judgment: May it please your honoured court, I was cried out upon by some of the possessed persons, as afflicting them; whereupon I was brought to my examination,

was at the same time imposed, payable in the paper notes of the colony, at five per cent. above par. Notwithstanding the exertions made to

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nation, which persons at the sight of me fell down, which did very much startle and affright me. The Lord above knows I knew nothing, in the least measure, how or who afflicted them. They told me, without doubt I did, or else they would not fall down at me: they told me, if I would not confess, I should be put down in the dungeon, and would be hanged; but, if I would confess, I should have my life; the which did so affright me, with my own vile wicked heart, to save my life, made me make the like confession I did; which confession, may it please the honoured court, is altogether false and untrue. The very first night after I had made confession, I was in such horror of conscience that I could not sleep, for fear the devil would carry me away for telling such horrid lies. I was, may it please the honoured court, sworn to my confession, as I understand since; but then, at that time, was ignorant of it, not knowing what an oath did mean. The Lord, I hope, in whom I trust, out of the abundance of his mercy, will forgive me my false forswearing of myself: what I said was altogether false, against my grandfather and Mr. Burroughs, which I did to save my life and to have my liberty; but the Lord charging it to my conscience, made me in so much horror, that I could not contain myself before I had denied my confession, which I did, though I saw nothing but death before me, choosing rather death, with a quiet conscience, than to live in such horror, which I could not suffer. Whereupon my denying my confession, I was committed to close prison, where I have enjoyed more felicity in spirit, a thousand times, than I did before my enlargement. And now, may it please your honours,

keep up its credit, the paper depreciated to fourteen shillings in the pound, which depreciation was almost entirely sustained by the army. As

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nours, your declarant having in part given your honours a description of my condition, do leave it to your honours' pious and judicious discretions to take pity and compassion on my young and tender years, to act and do with me as the Lord above and your honours shall say good, having no friend but the Lord to plead my cause for me; not being guilty, in the least measure, of the crime of witchcraft, nor any other sin that deserves death from men: and your poor and humble declarant shall for ever pray, as she is bound in duty, for your honours' happiness in this life, and eternal felicity in the world to come."

During this reign of popular prejudice, the bounds of probability were so far transcended, that we scarcely know how to give credit to the well-attested fact, that, among those who were permitted to save themselves by confessing that they were witches, and joining in the accusation of their parents, were to be found children from seven to ten years of age! Among the numbers who were accused, only one person was acquitted. For this, he was indebted to one of the girls who would not join the others in criminating him. The examination had commenced in February, and the list of commitments had swelled to a lamentable bulk by June, when the new charter having arrived, commissioners of *oyer* and *terminer* were appointed for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft. By this court, a considerable number were condemned, of whom nineteen, protesting their ignorance, were executed. It is observed by Mr. Hutchinson, that those who were condemned and not executed had most probably saved themselves by a confession of their guilt.

Fortunately

the time for collecting the tax approached, the paper rose above par, but this appreciation was only beneficial to the holders.

Fortunately for those who were still to be tried, the legislature convened under the new charter, created a regular tribunal for the trial of criminal as well as civil cases, and the court of commissioners rose to set no more. The first session of the regular court for the trial of criminal cases was to be held in January, and this delay was favourable to reflection and to the recovery of the public reason. Other causes contributed to this event. There remained yet in the various prisons of the colony a vast number of women, many of whom were of the most reputable families in the towns in which they had resided; and many of the very first rank had been hinted at, and some expressly named, by the bewitched and confessing witches. A Mr. Bradstreet, who had been appointed one of the council, and was soon after the old governor of that name, but who, as a justice of the peace, was suspected of not prosecuting with sufficient rigour, was named by the witnesses as a confederate, and found it necessary to abscond. The governor's lady, it is said, and the wife of one of the ministers, who had favoured this persecution, were among the accused; and a charge was also brought against the secretary of the colony of Connecticut.

Although the violence of the torrent of prejudice was beginning to abate, yet the grand jury, in January, found true bills against fifty persons, but of those brought to trial, only three were condemned, and they were not executed. All those who were not tried in January, were discharged by order of the governor; and never, says Mr. Hutchinson, has such a jail delivery been known in New England; and never was there given a more melancholy proof of the degree of depravity always to be counted on when the public passions countenance crime.

While the event of the expedition against Canada was uncertain, the Indians affected to desire peace; but, on its failure, their hostilities were renewed, and Colonel Phipps, soon after his return, embarked for England, to renew the solicitations of the colony for aid in another attempt on Quebec.

In this application he was unsuccessful; but the government of the province was bestowed on him; and, in this character, he returned to Boston. In pursuance of instructions he had received, a fort was constructed at Pemaquid, and garrisoned with troops raised by Massachussetts. The French general immediately formed the design of taking this place.

A force, consisting of two ships of war, with some French troops, under the command of Iberville, and a considerable body of Indians, conducted by Villeborne, was detached for this purpose. The ships appeared late in the season before the fort, under the guns of which was an English vessel at anchor; but, having no pilot, and being unacquainted with the coast, they retreated, without attacking the place, to the no small mortification of the Indians.

A desultory war continued to be carried on, which, without furnishing many events that could now be interesting, produced a heavy expence, and much individual misery. Women and children

dren were often its victims; and, when a settlement was successfully attacked, neither their sex nor their age exempted them from the fate usually decreed by savages to the conquered, and they were either massacred, or carried into captivity.

Canada was considered as the source from whence all the evils attendant on Indian warfare originated, and it continued to be the first object of Massachussetts. At length, King William yielded to their solicitations, and determined to employ a force, in the summer of 1693, for the reduction of Quebec. Unfortunately, the part of the plan first to be executed was in the West Indies, where the capture of Martinique was contemplated. There, both the fleet and army were attacked with a contagious fever, common in that climate, and, before the 11th of June, when they reached Boston, thirteen hundred out of two thousand one hundred sailors, and eighteen hundred of two thousand four hundred soldiers, were buried. They were in no condition to prosecute the enterprize, and it was consequently abandoned for the present; but Sir Francis Wheeler, the commander in chief, formed, in concert with the government, a plan for attacking Quebec, the next year, with an army of four thousand men, of which two thousand were to be English. No measures, however, appear to have been taken by William, to carry this plan into execution.

Soon after the conquest of Acadié by Sir William Phipps, it was found too burthensome for Massachussetts to maintain, at its own expense, a body of troops sufficient to defend the country. The government was extended over it, and officers appointed; but, as the prejudices and affections of the inhabitants were entirely on the side of France, it was soon perceived that a military force alone could maintain the conquest. Port Royal was recovered by Villeborne, who had a commission from the king of France, as governor of Acadié, and who resided at St. John's. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to dislodge him, and at length, in 1696, the whole of Acadié seems to have shaken off the government of Massachussetts, and resumed its allegiance to France. About the same time, the fort at Pemaquid was attacked, and, after a very feeble resistance, carried by Iberville, who commanded a body of French and Indians. It was expected at Boston that he would proceed westward as far as Portsmouth, and five hundred men were immediately raised for the defence of New Hampshire. The enemy, however, retreated, and Colonel Church, who commanded this body of troops, determined to visit Acadié. He sailed from Penobscot to Chigneeto, or Beaubasin; and, on his appearance, the French inhabitants, who were certainly unprotected, abandoned their houses, and fled to the woods. He stayed but

but a short time at this place; and, on the 20th of September, re-embarked his troops, and sailed to the river St. John's. He destroyed the materials prepared for building a new fort near the mouth of the river, and brought away twelve pieces of cannon; but, understanding that the passage up to the fort, where Villeborne resided, was difficult, and the water shallow, he relinquished the project of attacking it, and sailed for Boston. Near the mouth of the river, he was met by Captain Alden, who conducted a reinforcement, and was ordered to take command of all the troops, and drive Villeborne from his station at St. John's. The men, who had commenced their voyage to Boston, returned with reluctance, and the attack on the fort was unsuccessful. It was now late in October, and the troops were unprepared for a winter campaign. They, therefore, after remaining two days and one night before the fort, gave over the siege, and returned to Boston.

The invasion and conquest of Canada remained the favourite project of Massachussetts, and the assistance of England towards its execution was continually solicited. It was promised in the year 1696, but the ill success of the war in Europe arrested the plan which had been formed for the campaign in America.

In the course of that year, a plan was adopted in the cabinet of Versailles for an expedition against

Boston, to be carried on in the subsequent year. A considerable military and naval force was destined for this object, and the Count de Frontignac was ordered to hold fifteen hundred men in readiness, in Canada, to co-operate with the troops which would arrive from Europe. It was intended, after taking Boston, to lay waste the English colonies as far north as Acadié. The total failure of this threatened expedition is attributed to the impolicy of having mingled with it other service, which consumed that part of the season which might have been employed, perhaps advantageously, against New England.

In December, the peace of Ryswick, which terminated the war between Great Britain and France, was proclaimed at Boston, and hostilities with the French, in Canada, immediately ceased. The Indians kept up their depredations but for a short time after this event; and, in the course of the next year, 1697, general tranquillity was restored.

During the war, which had been carried on against the French and the Indians in alliance with them, the frontiers of New Hampshire had not been less exposed than those of Massachussetts. Perpetual and distressing incursions were made into the country, which were marked by the burning of undefended habitations, and the inhuman massacre of men, women, and children, who were

so unfortunate as to fall into the power of the enemy.

The frontiers of New York were in a great degree covered by the five nations, over whom Major Schurley, a brave and active officer, possessed such unbounded influence, that the utmost address of Count Frontignac, employed to obtain their friendships, was entirely unsuccessful; and they remained the steady friends of the English. Expeditions were reciprocally carried on by the French and the five nations against each other, but they were unattended by any material circumstances.

About the year 1695, it was contemplated, in England, to unite the force of the colonies, for the formation of an army for the defence of New York, against the common enemy; and, in pursuance of this idea, the governors were instructed to propose to the several provinces to raise the quota of troops assigned by the crown for the combined army.* This plan never took effect;

* The quotas assigned by the crown are as follows:

To Massachussetts Bay - - - -	350
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations	48
Connecticut - - - -	120
New York - - - -	200
Pennsylvania - - - -	80
Maryland - - - -	160
Virginia - - - - -	240
Total	1198

 probably

probably because the colonies most exposed chose to apply their whole military force to such objects as were most interesting to themselves, while those which were not pressed by immediate dangers were unwilling to share the burthens of protecting their neighbours. Yet the fact is not entirely uninteresting. It will suggest some important reflections, and it, in some degree, evidences the opinion there entertained of the relative strength of the colonies.

The influence of the French did not at this time extend far enough to the south to involve the colonies, beyond New York, in the calamities of Indian warfare. But few occurrences took place among them which deserve attention. In Virginia, William and Mary College, to which a charter was granted, in 1692, was very liberally endowed, and established by an act of assembly, which passed in the year 1693, at Williamsburg. In 1698, the state-house, at James-town, with many valuable papers, was consumed by fire; and, in the following year, 1699, an act passed the legislature, for the removal of the seat of government to Williamsburg, then called the Middle Plantation, and for building a capital at that place.

By the treaty of Ryswick, it was agreed that France and England should mutually restore to each other all conquests made during the war; and it was further stipulated, that commissioners should

should be appointed to examine and determine the rights and pretensions of either monarch, to the places situated in Hudson's Bay; but the possession of such places as were taken by the French during the preceding peace, and were retaken by the English during the war, were to remain with the French.

The consequences of thus leaving boundaries unascertained were soon perceived. The whole country west of St. Croix was claimed by the English, as being within the colony of Massachussetts; while France manifested a determination to exclude them from the fisheries on the coast, and from the possession of the country east of Kennebec. Monsieur Villeborne, the governor of the River St. John's, wrote, on the 5th of September, to Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor of Massachussetts, that he was expressly ordered, by his majesty, to maintain the bounds between New England and them; which were, he said, from the head of Kennebec river to its mouth, leaving the course of the river free to both nations; and that, in consequence of these orders, vessels fishing on that coast would be seized and confiscated.

These claims remained unsettled, and were mingled with other differences of much more national importance, which soon occasioned the recommencement of hostilities.

In America, the whole weight of the war which

was declared in May 1702, fell on New England. Previous to its commencement, the Earl of Bellamont, who was governor of New York, as well as of Massachussetts and New Hampshire, had required that the quotas of men to be raised by the different colonies, for the defence of New York, in case of invasion, should be furnished.* The royal attention was perhaps particularly directed to the protection of this province, by the consideration of its geographical position, which peculiarly exposed it to a combined attack from the lakes and from the sea; and which would render it, in the possession of the enemy, a place of vast importance, as it would completely destroy the communication between the northern and southern colonies. This requisition, however, was never com-

* The requisition of men was thus apportioned:

Massachussetts	350
New Hampshire	40
Rhode Island	48
Connecticut	120
New York	200
East New Jersey	60
West New Jersey	60
Pennsylvania	80
Maryland	160
Virginia	240
Total	1358

plied

plied with; and, before the commencement of hostilities, a treaty of neutrality was negotiated between the six nations, or Iroquois, and the French governor in Canada. This treaty, which was unquestionably assented to by the government of New York, at the head of which was then Lord Cornbury, preserved intirely the peace of that province; for De Calliers, the governor of Canada, was deterred from permitting his parties to molest the frontiers of New York, by the apprehension that they might engage him in a quarrel with the Iroquois; but it left Massachussetts and New Hampshire to struggle with the whole combined force of the French in Canada, and their Indian allies.

The commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and France was immediately followed by incursions, of French and Indians, into the exposed parts of New England. A predatory, desolating war, attended with no striking circumstance, but with considerable expense and infinite individual distress, was carried on for some years. Propositions were made for a cessation of hostilities, and the negotiations on this subject were protracted to a considerable length; but Dudley, the governor of Massachussetts and New Hampshire, declined engaging for the neutrality of those provinces, probably in hope that Nova Scotia, and possibly Canada,

Canada, might, in the course of the war, be subjected to the British crown.

In 1707, it had been determined, in the English cabinet, to send an armament to New England, under the command of General Macartney, for the purpose of aiding their design on Acadié and Canada; but the battle of Almanza, in Spain, produced such a change in the face of affairs in Europe, that this scheme was abandoned.

Dudley, rendered perhaps still more anxious to relieve the colonies from those calamities which are inseparable from Indian warfare, by the apprehension that he might be reproached with having contributed to their continuance, by refusing to agree to the proposed neutrality, determined to make one attempt on Acadié, though no aid should arrive from England. With this view, he applied early in the spring to the assemblies of both his provinces, and to the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, requesting them to raise one thousand men for the expedition. Connecticut declined furnishing the troops required; but the other three colonies raised the whole number, who were disposed into two regiments, one of which was commanded by Colonel Wainwright, and the other by Colonel Hilton. They embarked, on the 13th of May, at Nantasket, in twenty-three transports, furnished with whale-boats, under convoy of

of the Deptford man of war, Captain Stuckly, and the Province galley, Captain Southack. The chief command was given to Colonel March, who had behaved well in several rencontres with the Indians, but had never been tried in such service as this. They arrived before Port Royal in a few days, and, after burning some houses, killing some cattle around the fort, and making some ineffectual attempts to bombard it, a jealousy and disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, caused the army to break up, and re-embark in a disorderly manner. Some of the officers went to Boston for orders; some of the transports put in at Casco; and a sloop, with Captain Chesly's company of sixty men, returned to Portsmouth. Dudley, who had entertained strong hopes of reducing Port Royal, could by no means consent to relinquish the enterprize, and immediately ordered the army to remain in its position, until he should consider of further measures. March was beloved by the soldiers, and his courage was not even suspected; but his capacity as a general was greatly doubted. It was therefore thought unsafe either to recal him, to appoint an officer over him, or to continue him in the chief command. In this perplexity, the expedient decided on was, to send to the army a commission, composed of three members of the council, invested with all the powers which the governor

governor himself, if present, would have possessed. The members selected for this duty were, Colonel Hutchinson, Colonel Townsend, and Mr. Leveret, who arrived at Casco about the middle of July, where they found the army disorganized, without subordination, and greatly indisposed to the service. The troops, however, were embarked, and they arrived at Passamaquadi on the 7th of August. The spirits of the general were broken, and his health affected. While the disposition for landing the army was making, he declared his inability to act, and the command devolved on Colonel Wainwright, the officer next in rank. The landing was effected on the 10th of August, but the troops could not be inspired with that union, firmness, and skill, which were essential to success; and, on the 20th of the month, they re-embarked, and returned, sickly, fatigued, disheartened, and ashamed; but with no greater loss than sixteen killed, and as many wounded.*

During this unfortunate expedition, the frontiers were kept in perpetual alarm by small parties of Indians; and, in the succeeding year, a very formidable armament was destined, by Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, against New England. This expedition was in a great measure defeated

* Belknap. Hutch.

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by the failure of several Indian tribes to furnish the number of warriors expected from them. A considerable force, however, though much inferior to that on which Vaudreuil had calculated, penetrated into Massachussetts, and burned a part of the town of Haverhill, where about one hundred persons were killed, and many others carried off as prisoners. These invaders were pursued and overtaken by a body of troops from the neighbourhood, who killed a few of them, and retook several of their countrymen, who had been captured.

The New England colonies attributed all their calamities to the French in Canada, and were therefore earnest in their solicitations to the crown, to be aided with a force sufficient for the conquest of that country. An address to the queen, praying this aid, was voted by the general court of Massachussetts, in the fall of the succeeding year, 1708, and their application was very strongly supported by the representations made by Francis Nicholson, who had been lieutenant-governor, first of New York, and afterwards of Virginia; and of Samuel Vetch, a trader to Nova Scotia, who was well acquainted with the French settlements in that quarter.

Influenced, at length, by these representations, an expedition against the French settlements in North America and in Newfoundland was decided

on

on by the British ministry, and an extensive plan formed for that purpose. A squadron, having on board five regiments of regular troops, was to be at Boston by the middle of May. These regiments were there to be joined by twelve hundred men, to be raised in Massachussetts and Rhode Island, which governments were to provide transports, flat-bottomed boats, pilots, and three months provisions for their own troops. With this force, it was intended to attack Quebec; and it was also proposed to raise fifteen hundred men in the governments south of Rhode Island, who should march by the way of lake Champlain, and attack Montreal at the same time. The troops of Massachussetts were ready by the 20th of May, and all the other governments, except Pennsylvania, punctually and chearfully executed the portion of the plan assigned to them respectively. Nicholson was appointed to command the troops destined for the attack of Montreal, and marched to Wood Creek, there to wait till the arrival of the fleet and regular troops from Europe, that the two armies might co-operate with each other. The New England troops which had been assembled, with the necessary transports, at Boston, remained at that station from May till September, expecting the arrival of the fleet and army from England. About this time, Nicholson returned from Wood Creek, and it was obviously too late to proceed against

against Quebec. A meeting of commanding officers and governors of provinces was requested, in order to deliberate on the measures which, in the existing state of things, ought to be adopted, and, on the 11th of October, a few days before the meeting was to have taken place, a ship arrived at Boston from England, with the intelligence, that the forces intended for America had been ordered to Portugal, and with directions that a council should be held, in order to determine whether the forces raised in America might not be employed against Port Royal; in which event, the ships of war then at Boston were to aid the expedition. The commanders of the ships, except Captain, afterwards Admiral Mathews, refused to engage in the service; and it being unsafe to proceed without convoy, the transports were discharged, and the men disbanded.

A congress of governors and delegates from several of the assemblies met in the fall, at Rhode Island, who recommended that agents should be sent to assist Colonel Nicholson, in representing the state of the country to the queen, and soliciting troops for an expedition against Canada the next spring. The ministry seem to have listened, at first, to this proposal, and to have thought favourably of it; but it was finally determined to proceed only against Port Royal. For this purpose, Nicholson came over, in July, with five frigates

gates and a bomb-ketch. The troops were then to be raised. The whole armament, consisting of one regiment of marines, and four regiments in New England, sailed from Boston the 18th of September, and arrived before Port Royal on the 24th. The place was immediately invested, and, after the exchange of a few shot and shells, was surrendered, on the 5th of October. Vetch was appointed governor, and its name was, in compliment to the queen, changed to Annapolis.

After the reduction of Port Royal, Nicholson returned to England, to renew the so-often-repeated solicitations for an expedition against Canada. The ministry was now changed, and the colonists despaired of obtaining from those now in power any aids against the French. Contrary to the general expectation, his application succeeded, and he arrived at Boston in 1711, with orders to the governors of the colonies, as far as Pennsylvania, to have their quotas of men and provisions in readiness by the arrival of the fleet and army from Europe. This happened within sixteen days, while the several governors were yet holding a consultation on the subject of their orders. A literal compliance with them, in so short a time, was impossible. But the nature of the service conforming perfectly to the wishes of the people, as well as of the governors, every practicable exertion was made, and difficulties, which,

which, on other occasions, might have been deemed insurmountable, were quickly overcome. To supply the money which the English treasury could not then advance, the general court of Massachussetts issued bills of credit to the amount of forty thousand pounds, and determined on the impressment of provisions for the army.

The colonies soon raised their quotas of troops, and the army consisted of seven veteran regiments, who had served under the duke of Marlborough, one regiment of marines, and two regiments of provincials, amounting, in the whole, to about six thousand five hundred men;—a force equal to that which afterwards, under the command of General Wolfe, reduced Quebec when in a much better state of defence. The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July, and the most sanguine hopes of success were entertained. These were all blasted on one fatal night. The fleet having advanced ten leagues into the river St. Lawrence, in the night of the 23d of August, the weather being thick and heavy, eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island, near the north shore, and one thousand persons perished. The next day the fleet put back, and were eight days beating down the river against an easterly wind, which, in two, would have carried them to Quebec. After assembling at Spanish River, in the island of Cape Breton, and holding a fruitless

consultation about annoying the French at Placentia, the expedition was entirely abandoned, and the fleet returned to England. Loud complaints and heavy charges were made on this occasion. The ignorance of the pilots, the obstinacy of the admiral, the detention of the fleet at Boston, its late arrival there, the want of seasonable orders, and the secret intentions of the ministry, were all subjects of bitter altercation; but the causes of the miscarriage were never regularly inquired into.

The depredations on the frontiers still continued, but no other event of importance took place during this war. It was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which was signed on the 11th of April, 1713; and the Indians, no longer stimulated to hostility by the French, sued for peace. By the twelfth article of this treaty, France ceded to England "all Nova Scotia, or Acadié, with its ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in those parts which depend on the said lands."

In Carolina the people appear to have continued very much dissatisfied with their condition, and to have been involved in perpetual vexatious contests with the proprietors. From these the public attention was for a time diverted by hostilities with their neighbours in Florida. Before any official intelligence had been received of the declaration

declaration of war made, in 1702, against France and Spain, it was rumoured in the colonies that this event had probably taken place. Mr. Moore, the governor of the southern settlements, immediately proposed to the assembly an expedition against St. Augustine. Although the temperate men of the province were opposed to this enterprize, especially as no information of an actual declaration of war had been received from England, yet the assurances of the governor, that Florida would be an easy conquest, and that treasures of gold and silver would reward their valour, were too seductive to be resisted. Those who represented the weakness and poverty of the colony, (which then consisted of something more than six thousand white persons,) and the strength of the garrison, were, as is usual, when any favourite project is opposed by cool unimpassioned men, termed enemies and traitors to their country, timid and pusillanimous wretches, who were utter strangers to great and glorious undertakings. A great majority of the assembly declared in favour of the expedition, and the sum of two thousand pounds sterling was voted to defray the expenses which would be incurred in its prosecution. Six hundred provincial militia were raised for the service, to whom were added six hundred Indians, who were furnished with arms and ammunition, and engaged as auxiliaries. Some merchant vessels

were impressed as transports, and in September, 1702, the governor embarked at the head of the greater part of this armament, for St. Augustine.

In the plan of operations which had been concerted, it was agreed that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should march, by the inland passage, with a party of militia and Indians, and attack the town by land, while the governor with the main body should proceed by sea, and block up the harbour. Colonel Daniel executed his part of the plan with promptitude and vigour. He advanced against the town, entered and plundered it before the governor reached the harbour. The Spaniards, however, had been apprised of the preparations making at Charles-town for the expedition, and had laid up provisions for four months in the castle. Thither they retired, as Daniel entered the town. On the arrival of the governor the place was completely invested; but finding it impossible to dislodge the enemy, without battering artillery, Colonel Daniel was dispatched to Jamaica, for the purpose of bringing cannon, bombs, and mortars, which were necessary for the siege. During his absence, two Spanish ships, one of twenty-two, and the other of sixteen guns, appeared off the mouth of the harbour. The governor, struck with a panic at the appearance of this small maritime force, immediately raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made

made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land. The ships, with the provision and ammunition on board, fell into the hands of the Spaniards. Colonel Daniel, soon after, returned, and, having no suspicion that the siege was raised, stood in for the harbour. He fortunately discovered his situation in time to escape, though with difficulty, from the enemy.

This rash and ill-conducted expedition, though it cost only two lives, entailed on the colony a debt of 6000l. sterling, at that time very considerable; for the payment of which bills of credit were emitted to that amount, redeemable in three years, by a duty on liquors, skins, and furs.

The ignominy of this expedition was soon wiped off, by one which was attended with better success. The Appalachian Indians, who were connected with the Spaniards, had become extremely troublesome to the frontier inhabitants. The governor, at the head of a body of militia and friendly Indians, marched into the heart of their settlements. The towns of the tribes living between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah were laid in ashes, and several prisoners made. The savages, filled with terror, were induced, by these successes, to sue for peace, and submit to the British government.

Soon after this transaction, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been appointed to succeed Mr.

Moore as governor of the province, arrived at Charles-town. He endeavoured, but ineffectually, to turn the attention of the colonists to the culture of silk. This article, as well as that of cotton, was neglected, and rice became the great staple of the country.

During his administration the contests between the proprietors and the people continued and increased. To other causes of discord which subsisted, was added that produced by an attempt to establish the episcopal church. The colony had been settled by persons from different countries, and of different religious persuasions. The indiscreet endeavour to produce conformity, in a country thus inhabited, could not fail to excite considerable irritation. The influence of the governor obtained in the legislature such acts as were necessary for his purpose; but many of the people petitioned parliament against them; and the house of lords presented, on this subject, to her majesty, so decisive an address, that a *quo warranto* against the charter of the proprietors was at one time directed. This measure, however, was not put in execution, and the attention of the people was for a time diverted from these intestine broils, by the appearance of foreign danger.

The Spaniards claimed the whole country, as part of Florida, by the title of original discovery; and the governor now received advice of an intended

tended invasion of the Carolinas, for the purpose of annexing them to that province. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was fortunately a soldier, and had acquired, in European service, that degree of military skill which was necessary to enable him to prepare for the reception of the enemy. Every exertion was immediately made to fortify the entrance into the harbour of Charles-town, and to put the province in a state of defence.

There was reason to rejoice that these timely precautions were used; for although the idea of an invasion by an armament from Europe, if ever taken up, was not executed, yet the plan of an expedition against the Carolinas, formed in the Havannah, was carried into effect.

Monsieur le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, assisted by the Spanish governor, had sailed, together with four armed sloops, for Charles-town. He had orders to touch at St. Augustine, and take with him such a number of men as should be deemed necessary to ensure the conquest. His whole force is said to have amounted to about eight hundred. At St. Augustine, he was informed that an epidemic fever raged in Charles-town, and this intelligence increased his hopes of success.

A government vessel cruising on the coast for the purpose of intercepting supplies sent to Augustine from the Havannah, brought the intelligence of having seen those vessels off the bar of Au-

gustine, and scarcely had the captain delivered his information when signals from Sullivan's Island announced their appearance off the coast. The alarm was immediately given, and the militia of the town were under arms. In the evening the fleet of the enemy came the length of Charlestown bar, but being unacquainted with the passage, which is intricate, they deemed it imprudent to venture over it, as the darkness of the night was approaching, and therefore hovered on the coast till the morning. The next day was consumed in sounding the south bar. This fortunate delay was employed by the governor to the utmost advantage. The militia of the neighbouring country were marched to the assistance of the town; Indian aid was procured, and martial law proclaimed. The following day the enemy crossed the bar, and cast anchor above Sullivan's Island. The governor perceiving this, called a council of war, in which it was determined to place some heavy artillery in the vessels then in the harbour, and thus employ the sailors in their own way. William Rhet received the command of this little fleet, and hoisted his flag on board the crown galley. The enemy, observing the preparations for defence, summoned the governor to surrender, which being resolutely refused, a party of them landed on James's Island, where they burned some houses; and another party, consisting of

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one hundred and sixty men, landed about the same time on the opposite side of the river, where they burned two vessels in Dearsby's Creek, and set fire to his store-house. The governor detached Captain Drake and his company with a small party of Indians to James's Island; and Captain Cantry, with a hundred chosen men, was ordered to pass the river privately in the night, and watch the motions of the party that landed on Wando Neck. Before Drake could bring up his men, the Indians, who could be kept under no controul, and who ran through the woods with their usual impetuosity, had driven the enemy, against whom he was sent, to their boats. The party on Wando Neck had been feasting on the plunder they had taken, and before break of day was surprised by Captain Cantry, while around their fires, in a state of perfect security. He fired on them in this situation, and they were all killed or taken prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, it was determined to make an attack on them by sea; and Rhet, with six small vessels, proceeded down the river, to the place where the enemy rode at anchor. Perceiving this flotilla standing towards them, the French, in great haste, weighed anchor, and sailed over the bar. For some days, they were believed to have given up the enterprize; martial law was ordered to cease; and the inhabitants were rejoicing

joicing in their entire deliverance, when advice was received that a ship of force was seen in Sewee Bay, and that she had landed a number of armed men at that place. On examining the prisoners, the governor was informed that the enemy had expected a ship of war with a reinforcement of two hundred men, and Monsieur Arbusset, their general. Taking his measures with the promptness of an experienced officer, he ordered Captain Fenwick to pass the river, and march against the enemy by land; while Rhet, with two small armed vessels, sailed round by sea, with orders to meet him at Sewee Bay. Fenwick came up with the enemy, charged them briskly, and drove them to their ship, which, on the appearance of Rhet, struck, without firing a shot. The prize, with about ninety prisoners, was brought up to Charles-town.

Thus, with the loss of near three hundred men killed and taken prisoners, among the latter of whom were the general himself and some naval officers, was terminated the invasion of Carolina by Monsieur le Feboure. It seems to have been undertaken in the confidence that the colony was too weak for resistance, and to have been conducted without skill or courage. Governor Johnson acquired great reputation for the talents and intrepidity displayed on the occasion, and he publicly thanked the militia for the unanimity and courage

courage they had shewn in repelling their invaders.

Though this invasion was of short duration, yet the vigorous exertions made for the defence of the province produced an expense exceeding its ordinary revenue. No tax on lands or persons had hitherto been imposed, and the duties on commerce were entirely appropriated to the current expenditure, and towards sinking the bills of credit which had been emitted to defray the extraordinary debt of six thousand pounds sterling, incurred in the expedition against St. Augustine. An additional sum of eight thousand pounds was issued on account of the expenses of this invasion, and the act imposing a duty on furs, skins, and liquors, was continued for the purpose of redeeming it. The effect of this measure was an actual depreciation under the form of a rise in the price of commodities and of exchange. In a short time, one hundred and fifty pounds paper currency were given for one hundred pounds sterling.

About the year 1707, died Lord Granville, the palatine, a very bigoted churchman, under whose influence such violent measures had been taken for the establishment of religious conformity in Carolina. He was succeeded by Lord Craven, who, though of the same religious tenets, was mild in his temper, and moderate in support of them

them. His disposition to indulge and thereby mollify the dissenters was considered by the established church as endangering their religion; and the legislature of South Carolina, which was elected under the influence of the opinions of the late palatine, and of the governor appointed by him, expecting a change in the administration, adopted the very extraordinary measure of continuing itself "for two years, and for the time and term of eighteen months after the change of government, whether by the death of the present governor or the succession of another in his time." Thus was added one to the numerous facts which occur, to prove the humiliating truth, how weak are principles when assailed by passions.

The Indians in North Carolina, probably alarmed, as their countrymen had been in the other colonies, by the increasing population and regular encroachments of the whites, formed, in the year 1712, with their accustomed secrecy, the plan of exterminating in one night, by assassination, these formidable neighbours. No indication of their design was given, till they broke into the houses of the planters for its execution. The slaughter on Roanoke was immense: one hundred and thirty-seven were murdered in that settlement in one night. A few escaped, by concealing themselves in the woods; and the next day they gave the alarm. The remaining whites were collected together

gether in a place of the greatest safety, and guarded by the militia, till assistance could be received from South Carolina.

On the first intelligence of this dreadful calamity, the most prompt and effectual aid was afforded. The assembly voted four thousand pounds for the service, and Colonel Barnwell was detached with six hundred militia, and about three hundred and sixty Indians, to the relief of the afflicted North Carolinians. With the utmost celerity he passed through the difficult and dangerous wilderness which then separated the northern from the southern settlements, obtaining on his march supplies of provisions, by hunting parties of Indians, and on his first arrival, attacked the enemy with great and unexpected fury. In this engagement, three hundred of them were killed, and about one hundred taken prisoners. The survivors retreated to Juscorora town, within a wooden breast-work, where they were surrounded, and, after sustaining considerable loss, sued for peace. This was granted them, but the Juscororas, who were computed to have lost nearly one thousand men in the course of this war, soon afterwards abandoned their country, and united themselves with the Iroquois, or Five Nations.

The expense of this expedition greatly exceeded the scanty means of South Carolina. The most perfect

perfect harmony, however, then subsisted between the governor and the legislature, and they united cordially in their endeavours to apply a remedy to their existing difficulties. The scheme now adopted was a public bank. For answering the exigencies of government, and promoting the convenience of commerce, it was determined to issue forty-eight thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be denominated bank bills. This money was to be lent out at interest, on security, and to be reduced gradually, by the payment from the borrowers of one-twelfth part of the money emitted. They were made a legal tender, and the creditor who should refuse them lost his debt.

After the emission of these bills, the rate of exchange rose, in the first year to one hundred and fifty, and in the second to two hundred per cent. The effect of this depreciation, and of the tender law which accompanied it, on creditors, and on morals, was obvious and certain.

As foreign coin generally circulated in the colonies, Queen Anne endeavoured, in the sixth year of her reign, to settle its nominal value by proclamation. The standard at which this currency was fixed was one hundred and thirty-three and one-third per cent. But, however convenient it might seem to be to establish uniform nominal rates of coin throughout the colonies, the attempt did

did not succeed. A variety of circumstances controled the operation of the proclamation on the currency of the country.

In New York the Leislerian and Anti-Leislerian faction were still kept up, and alternately persecuted each other. To this calamity was added, in the year 1703, the still heavier affliction of a contagious fever, brought in a vessel from the West Indies, which in almost every case was mortal. A similar disease appears to have raged about the same time in several other sea-port towns, and was probably the same which has since produced such fatal effects under the name of the yellow fever.

In 1703, Lord Cornbury, a needy and profligate nobleman, was appointed governor of the province, and embraced without reserve the Anti-Leislerian party, which was then the strongest in the colony and in the legislature. On meeting the assembly, he, in a speech highly flattering to the members, urged the necessity of providing money for the exigencies of the public; and, as he had arranged himself with the dominant party, the vote of supplies was liberal.

It was soon perceived that the confidence in the governor had been misplaced. Fifteen hundred pounds, raised for the purpose of erecting two batteries at the narrows, and near one thousand pounds levied for the protection of the frontiers, were

were applied by him to his private use. The system of collecting and keeping public money, then adopted in New York, was well calculated to favour this peculation. The colony having no treasurer, the money came entirely into the hands of the receiver general for the crown, from whence it was drawn by a warrant from the governor. Conflicts soon arose between his lordship and the legislature, on the subject of money; the house requesting a statement of disbursements, and the appointment of a public treasurer, who should be under their control. At length, in 1706, an act was passed, raising three thousand pounds for fortifications, and directing the money to be placed in the hands of a person named by the legislature. This act did not receive the assent of the governor till the succeeding year, when he informed the legislature, that he had it in command from the queen "to permit the general assembly to name their own treasurer, when they raised extraordinary supplies for particular uses, and which are no part of the standing and constant revenue."*

The irritation between the governor and legislature, occasioned by his perpetual demands of money, his misapplication of it, his extortions in the way of fees, and his haughty tyrannical con-

* Smith.

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duct in other respects, continued to increase, until the queen, moved by the complaints both of New York and New Jersey, consented to recall him. During these altercations, some spirited resolutions were entered into by the assembly, one of which deserves particular notice; it is in these words: "Resolved, That the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without their consent in general assembly, is a grievance and violation of the people's property."

This strong assertion of a principle, the controversy concerning which afterwards dismembered the British empire, thus passed away without notice. It was probably understood to be directed only against the assumption of that power by the governor.*

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* So early as the year 1692, the difference of opinion between the mother country and the colonies, on the great point which afterwards separated them, made its appearance. The legislature of Massachussetts, employed in establishing a system of laws under their new charter, passed an act containing the general principles respecting the liberty of the subject, which are asserted in Magna Charta, and in which was this memorable advice: "No aid, tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid, assessed, or imposed, on any of their majesty's subjects, or their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by

The expedition against Canada, which had been planned in England, and which has been stated not to have been carried into execution, in consequence of the failure of the ministry to furnish the stipulated military and naval force, was entered into in New York with the same zeal with which it had been engaged in by New England. The treasury not being in a situation to supply the demands upon it, bills of credit, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, were issued, to defray the expense of the expedition; three thousand pounds were added by New Jersey; eight thousand pounds by Connecticut; and a considerable body of troops, raised in the several colonies, destined for the attack of Montreal, marched, under the command of Mr. Nicholson, to Wood Creek; from whence they had the mortification to return without rendering any service. The chagrin produced by this grievous disappointment, only stimulated the colonists to additional efforts to obtain from England a force sufficient to drive the French out of their possessions in North America. Colonel Schuyler, who possessed more than any other the confidence of the colony, and who was

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the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court." It is almost unnecessary to add, that the royal assent to this act was refused.

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In a high degree sensible of the importance of uniting the whole northern part of this continent under the same sovereign, undertook, at his own expense, a voyage to England, for the purpose of communicating more certainly to the ministry his sentiments on the subject. To add to the impression, he took with him five Indian sachems, and was recommended to the royal attention by a resolution of the general assembly, expressive of the high opinion they entertained of his merit. His representations had unquestionably considerable influence in determining the ministry on the expedition, which was successfully carried on against Port Royal in 1710. When Sir Hovenden Walker sailed for Quebec in 1712, with the troops commanded by General Hill, Mr. Nicholson, at the head of four thousand men, raised in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, again marched by the way of Albany and Lake Champlain against Montreal: but having received intelligence of the wreck of some ships in the River St. Lawrence, and the consequent retreat of the fleet, events which enabled the governor of Canada to turn his whole force against the lakes, he retired precipitately towards Albany. On this occasion ten thousand pounds in bills of credit were emitted, and debts were contracted to a still greater amount.

It had been usual in several of the colonies to make handsome presents to their governors. This practice was supposed to have a very material influence on their conduct, and to dispose them to conciliate the affections of their respective legislators at the expence of their duty to the crown. In the apprehension of this ill consequence from such a custom, peremptory orders were given by Queen Anne to the several governors to receive no more presents, but to obtain acts, fixing permanently their salaries at a sum named by herself. In some of the colonies this requisition of the crown was readily complied with, but in New York and Massachussetts it experienced very great opposition.

In the same year which restored peace to the colonies, the long-contested question of boundary between Massachussetts and Connecticut was adjusted very much to the satisfaction of all parties. As settlements had been made by emigrants from the body of each province before the line was established, it was apprehended that each had made grants of lands within the territory of the other. It was therefore agreed, that the towns already settled should remain under the same jurisdiction which had settled them, and that the party losing territory by this compromise should be compensated by a grant of vacant lands in some other place.

place. It appeared from the report of the joint commissioners, appointed to ascertain the matters in controversy, that one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres of land were due from Massachussetts. This quantity was conveyed to Connecticut, and sold by that province, principally for the support of Yale College. In the same year the contest respecting boundary with Rhode Island was also settled by agreement, Connecticut consenting to relinquish her claim to lands within the charter limits of each colony.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings of the legislature of Massachussets—Intrigues of the French among the Indians—War with the savages—Peace—Points of controversy with the governor decided in England against the house—Contests concerning the governor's salary—Adjournment of the assembly to Salem—Contest concerning the salary terminated—Great depreciation of the paper currency—Scheme for a land bank—Company dissolved by act of parliament—Governor Shirley arrives—Review of transactions in New York.

THE heavy expences of Massachussets during the late war had produced such large emissions of paper-money, that gold and silver were entirely banished, and a very considerable depreciation had taken place. Exchange with England, and with all other countries, rose greatly above its ordinary rate, and this, instead of its being attributed to the true cause, was ascribed by many to the bad state of their trade.

The colony having now leisure for its domestic concerns, bestowed its attention on this interesting subject.

Three

Three parties were formed. The first, a very small one, actuated by the principle which always ought to govern, that *honesty is the best policy*, were in favour of calling in the paper-money, and relying on the industry of the people to replace it with a circulating medium of greater stability.

The second, which was very numerous, had projected a private bank. This bank was to issue bills of credit, which all the members of the company promised to receive as money, but at no certain value compared with gold and silver. It was not contemplated that specie should be deposited in the bank to redeem the notes as they might be offered; but that real estates, to a sufficient value, should be pledged, as security that the company would perform its engagements.

The third party was in favour of a loan of bills from the government to any of the inhabitants who would mortgage real estate for their repayment in a specified term of years, with interest payable annually, which interest was to be applied to the support of government.

The first party being too insignificant, in point of numbers, to indulge a hope that its opinions might prevail, joined the third, and the whole province was nearly equally divided between a public and private bank.

At length, in 1714, the party for the public bank

prevailed in the general court, and fifty thousand pounds, in bills of credit, were issued, and placed in the hands of trustees, to be lent for five years only, at five per cent. interest, one-fifth part of the principal to be paid annually.

This scheme had no tendency to improve the commerce of the country, and Governor Shute, who succeeded Dudley, on the first meeting of the assembly, reminded them of the bad state of trade, which he ascribed to the scarcity of money; and he recommended the consideration of some effectual measures to supply this want, and thereby to restore trade to a flourishing condition. A second loan of one hundred thousand pounds for ten years was determined on, to be placed in the hands of commissioners in each county, in proportion with the taxes payable from such county. The consequence was, that the whole currency soon depreciated to such a degree, that the entire sum in circulation did not represent more real value than was represented by the medium circulating before this emission. The governor had now sufficient leisure, and the general court furnished him with sufficient motives, to reflect on the policy he had recommended. They refused to raise his salary as the money depreciated, and only voted for his support the nominal sum they had been accustomed to give.

In

In the beginning of the year 1719 the governor had given his assent to a bill, imposing a duty on English tonnage and on English manufactures imported into the colony. For assenting to this measure, which was afterwards deemed by himself and his council contrary to his instructions, he was severely censured by the minister; and when, in the course of the year 1720, a similar bill was sent up by the house of representatives, it was negatived in the council. A warm altercation on this subject took place between the two houses, and it was not till a subsequent session that a bill, imposing duties, leaving out the English tonnage and manufactures, was agreed to by the representatives.

At the commencement of the session of the general court, in 1720, a difference arose between the house of representatives and the governor, concerning his right to negative a speaker chosen by them. The house having persisted in its choice of Mr. Cooke, and the governor in negativing him, the general court was dissolved, and writs for a new election issued.

The same members were generally re-elected, and began their session with a warm remonstrance to the governor on the dissolution of the preceding assembly, in which they say, "that whoever was of advice to his excellency in the matter, did not

not consult his majesty's interest, nor the public weal and quiet of the government, but officiously endeavoured to beget unhappy misunderstandings between his excellency and the house, and break off that desirable harmony which every one ought to keep up."* Such was the ill temper of this session, that the house negatived a proposition for making a present to some Indians, of the Penobscot tribe, who were then at Boston treating with the governor: and when, afterwards, this vote was reconsidered, they would only give ten pounds.

It had been usual, at the beginning of the session, to make a grant to the governor for his salary for half the year. This business the house deferred until an adjournment was about to take place, and then, notwithstanding the depreciation of the money, reduced the salary from six to five hundred pounds per annum. The governor, without taking notice of these proceedings, adjourned them in July.

In the recess, some depredations were committed by the eastern Indians; and the general court was convened before the time to which it had been adjourned. The house of representatives immedi-

* Hutch.

ately

ately passed a resolution which was deemed tantamount to a declaration of war, and, consequently, an invasion of the governor's prerogative, and was, therefore, negatived by the council. The ill humour of the house of representatives continuing, and the council not joining them, they made some attempts, in some instances, to act alone; and in this session one hundred pounds were again deducted from the usual allowance made half annually to the governor. On this occasion, he laid before them instructions from the crown to recommend to the assembly to establish for him a fixed and adequate salary. To this they replied, "that they humbly conceived what was granted him was an honourable allowance; and the affair of settling salaries being a matter of great weight, and wholly new to the house, and many of the members absent, they did not think it proper to enter upon the consideration of it, but desired the court might rise." Their request was complied with.

At the opening of the next session, in 1721, the governor, in his speech, recommended measures to prevent the depreciation of the currency; to suppress a trade carried on with the French at Cape Breton; to punish the authors of factious and seditious papers; to provide a present for the Five Nations; and to enlarge his salary.

Every

Every object he recommended was neglected; and the ill temper of the house was displayed in many other instances. The emissions of paper were continued; and the attempt made to prevent its depreciation, by prohibiting the buying, selling, and bartering, gold and silver at any higher price than that set by act of parliament, served only the more effectually to banish those metals from the country. On the dissolution of the assembly the governor took occasion to make them a speech, strongly expressive of his disapprobation of their measures.

The succeeding general court soon manifested the same temper which had been displayed by their predecessors. Early in the session a committee was appointed "to vindicate the proceedings of the house from the insinuations made by the governor, of their want of duty and loyalty to his majesty."* This committee made a report, in the form of a narrative and justification of the proceedings of the last assembly, which the house received, and ordered to be printed.

The usual provision for the support of the governor and other officers was postponed; and, in return, the governor laid by the list of treasurer and other officers elected by the two houses, with-

* Hutch.

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out approving or disapproving the choice which had been made. A committee was deputed from the house, to inquire of the council, whether the governor had passed on the list? and he abruptly answered, that he should take his own time for it. This produced a long altercation, which terminated in a vote of the house, not to go into the consideration of grants and allowances till his excellency had passed upon the acts, resolves, and election, of that session.*

Some friends of the governor, too, among whom was Mr. Dummer, the agent for the colony in England, experienced the effects of this quarrel. The house passed a vote of dismission, which, though non-concurred in by the council, rendered the office by no means desirable to a person depending for his salary on an annual vote of the legislature. In the midst of these measures the assembly was dissolved with an angry speech which had no tendency to conciliate parties.

The new legislature met in 1722, in the same temper which had been manifested by the old to the day of its dissolution. To pre-existing causes of difference, fresh matter was now added by an Indian war, which had become inevitable.

* Hutch.

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The general court entered into measures directing the mode of conducting the war, and the disposition of the militia to serve in it, which were objected to by the governor, who insisted that, by the charter, the government of the militia was exclusively vested in him. Not content with regulating militia affairs, while in session they resolved, "that a committee, to consist of eleven members of the two houses, seven of the house of representatives, and four of the council, should meet in the recess of the court, once in fourteen days, and oftener, if occasion should require, to concert what steps and methods should be put in practice relative to the war; and, having agreed on any projections or designs, to lay them before his excellency for his approbation, who is desired to take effectual care to carry them into speedy execution."

In the midst of the contest for the power of managing the existing war with the Indians, the governor, who had privately solicited and obtained leave to return to England, suddenly embarked on board the Sea-horse man of war for Barbadoes, from whence he expected to obtain a speedy passage to Great Britain.

The powers of the governor, and the controversies in which he had engaged concerning their extent, now (1723) devolved on the lieutenant-governor.

governor. The house of representatives persisted in asserting their control over objects heretofore deemed within the province of the executive; but their resolutions were generally negatived by the council. This produced some altercation between the two branches of the legislature; but they at length united so far as to pass a resolution, desiring their agent in England to take the best measures for protecting the interests of the colony, which were believed to be in danger from the representations made by Governor Shute. During these contests in the interior, the frontiers had suffered severely from the depredations of the Indians. The French had acquired great influence over all the eastern tribes. Jesuit missionaries generally resided among them, who instructed them in religious and other subjects, and obtained a vast ascendency in their councils. After the cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain, Father Rallé, a missionary, residing among the savages of that province, exerted, very successfully, all his address to excite jealousies and resentments against the English. He represented them as intruders, and in a particular manner pointed the indignation of the natives against the forts erected in their neighbourhood for the protection of the country. By his acts, and those of other missionaries, all the eastern Indians, as well as those of Canada,

Canada, were combined against New England. They made some incursions into Massachussetts; in consequence of which, a body of troops were detached to the village where Rallé resided, for the purpose of seizing his person. He received intimation of their design in time to make his escape; but they secured and brought off his papers, among which were some shewing that, in exciting the Indians to war against the colonists, he had acted under the authority of Monsieur Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, who had secretly promised to supply them with arms and ammunition.

This attempt on the person of their spiritual father was very highly resented by them, and they determined on revenge. Several of the frontier settlements were attacked with great fury, and their hostility was now so open, that war in form was declared against them. It was carried on for some time, with considerable loss on both sides.

The Indians had been so notoriously excited to this war by the governor of Canada, and were so openly supported by him, that it was at length determined to send a remonstrance to him, against a conduct so incompatible with the state of peace then subsisting between France and England. Monsieur Vaudreuil received this embassy politely, and

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at first denied any interference in the quarrel; alleging, at the same time, that the Indians were independent nations, who made war and peace without being controled by him. On producing his letters to Rallé, and the evidences of the part he had taken in occasioning and continuing the war, he changed his line of conduct, and gave assurances of his future good offices in bringing about a peace. Communications were made with some of the Indian chiefs then in Canada, some captives were ransomed, and, soon after the return of the commissioners to New England, the war was terminated, and a treaty of peace signed at Boston, after a cessation of arms had been settled at St. George's.

Meanwhile, the complaints of the governor against the house of representatives came on to be heard in England. Every question was decided against the house. In most of them the present charter was deemed sufficiently explicit, but on two points of difference, it was thought advisable to have an explanatory charter. These points were the right of the governor to negative the speaker, and the right of the house respecting the subject of adjournment. An explanatory charter therefore passed the seals, affirming the power claimed by the governor to negative a speaker, and denying to the house of representa-

tives the right of adjourning itself for a longer time than two days. It was left to the option of the general court to accept or refuse this charter; but it was, at the same time, intimated to them, that in the event of their refusing it, the whole controversy between the governor and house of representatives would be laid before parliament. The conduct of the house on the other subjects of contest had been so generally condemned in England, and the ministry were so incensed at it, that it was feared the consequence of a parliamentary inquiry would be an act to vacate the charter. The temper of the house, too, had greatly changed. The violence and irritation which marked their proceedings through the contest with Governor Shute, had, in a considerable degree, subsided; and although several members, who had been active in support of those measures which led to the present difficulty, were ready to risk every thing, rather than relinquish a single privilege they had claimed, the majority determined to accept the new charter.

The trade of the province still languished, and complaints of the scarcity of money were as loud as when only specie was in circulation. The old resource of increasing the quantity, by a further emission of paper, was resorted to. A bill for this purpose passed both houses, which was rejected

jected by the lieutenant-governor, as being inconsistent with his instructions. The house of representatives thereupon came to a vote for postponing the consideration of salaries to the next session. The assembly was adjourned at their own request, and, after a recess of about a fortnight, was again convened; when, as an expedient to elude the instructions of the governor, which forbade him to consent to the issuing of bills of credit, except for changes of government, a bill was passed with the title of, "An act for raising and settling a public revenue for and towards defraying the necessary charges of the government, by an emission of sixty thousand pounds in bills of credit." This bill passed the council, as several of its members drew salaries for the payment of which it provided, and the lieutenant-governor gave to it his reluctant assent. Its passage into a law furnished strong evidence of the influence over the governor, which the control of his salary gave to the house of representatives.

Mr. Burnet, who, in 1728, had been appointed the governor of Massachussetts and New Hampshire, was received with great pomp at Boston; and, on meeting the assembly, stated to them the king's instructions to him, to insist on an established salary, and his intention firmly to adhere

to them. The assembly were not less firm in their determination to resist this demand; and, that they might be exposed to no additional and unnecessary obloquy, they determined not to mingle any difference, concerning the quantum of the salary, with the great question of its continuing dependent on their will. So soon, therefore, as the compliments usual on the first arrival of a governor had passed, they voted one thousand seven hundred pounds towards his support, and to defray the charges of his journey. By this vote, it was intended to give him, as a salary for the present, a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling per annum. The governor declared his inability to assent to this bill, it being inconsistent with his instructions. After a week's deliberation, the assembly granted three hundred pounds for the charge of his journey, which he accepted, and, in a distinct vote, the further sum of one thousand four hundred pounds towards his support. The latter vote was accompanied with a joint message from both houses, wherein they assert their undoubted right, as Englishmen, and their privilege, by the charter, to raise and apply moneys for the support of government, and their readiness to give the governor an ample and honourable support; but they apprehended it would be most for his majesty's service to do it without establishing

establishing a fixed salary. The governor returned an answer on the same day, in which he said, that if they really intended to give him an ample and honourable support, they could have no just objection to making their purposes effectual, by fixing the salary; for he would never accept a grant of the kind then offered. The council were disposed to avoid the contest, and to grant to the present governor a salary for a certain time; but the house of representatives, remaining firm to their first purpose, sent a message to the governor, requesting that the court might rise. He answered that, by complying with the request, he should put it out of their power to pay immediate attention to the king's instructions, and he would not grant them a recess until they had finished the business for which the court was then sitting. They then, in a message to him, declared that, in faithfulness to the people of the province, they could not come into an act for establishing a salary on the governor or commander in chief for the time being, and therefore they renewed their request that the court might rise.

Both the governor and the house of representatives seem yet awhile to have made their declarations with some reserve. Perhaps a salary during his own administration would have satisfied him,

though he demanded one to be settled generally on the commander in chief for the time being; and the house had not yet declared against settling on him a salary for a limited time. Each desired that the other should make some concessions; both declined; both by long altercation were irritated; and at length, instead of mutually advancing, fixed at the opposite extremes. After several ineffectual efforts on both sides, the house sent a message to the governor, in which are stated at large the motives to the resolution they had formed. To this the governor returned a prompt answer, in which he also details the reasons in support of the demand he had made. These two papers manifesting the principles and objects of both parties, even at this period, deserve attention.*

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* The following are the papers referred to:

"May it please your Excellency,

"The representatives in general court assembled, before they proceed to make reply to what they received from you on Thursday last, respecting their answer of that morning to your message of the 28th current, beg leave to recur to what the

Not long after receiving this message, the house, instead of making any advance towards a compliance

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the council and representatives, the 7th instant, in great truth and sincerity, among other things laid before your excellency, viz. They humbly apprehend that his majesty's service, in the necessary defence and support of the government, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants thereof, the two great ends proposed, in the power granted to this court for the raising taxes, would be best answered without establishing a salary. Your excellency was pleased to let us know that the answer of the house contained no reasons that appeared to you sufficient why his majesty's 23d instruction might not be complied with, since the same methods that are found no ways to prejudice the rights and liberties of the people of Great Britain, nor of other colonies, cannot prejudice those of this province. If the method practised in Great Britain is not prejudicial to the right and liberties of the people there, it does not therefore follow that fixing a salary will not prejudice the people of this province. The British constitution, differing from ours in many respects, and other colonies coming into any particular method, we not knowing the motives inducing them thereto, nor the several constitutions of government they are put under, ought not to influence or prompt us to imitate them.

pliance with his request, came to two resolutions strongly expressive of their determination not to recede from the ground they had taken.

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"May it please your Excellency,

"The house being heartily desirous to cultivate a good agreement and harmony with your excellency, take this opportunity to assure you, that we have once and again deliberately considered your message for fixing a salary, and do humbly conceive, that it is against the good design of the powers vested and reposed in us by the royal charter, to pass acts pursuant to the instructions laid before us; forasmuch as passing such acts, as we apprehend, has a direct tendency to weaken our happy constitution; for, that their late majesties, King William and Queen Mary, of glorious memory, were graciously pleased to gratify the inhabitants here, and did grant to them certain powers, privileges, and franchises, to be used and employed for the benefit of the people; and, in the same grant, reserved other powers to be used and exercised by the crown, or the governor sent by them, agreeable to the directions and instructions contained in the said grant and their commissions, having reference for their better guidance and directions to the several powers and authorities mentioned in the said charter.

"If, therefore, the general assembly should at any time come

The first question proposed was, whether the house would take under consideration the settling a tem-

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come into any act that might tend to infringe the prerogative, or disserve the crown, his majesty's governors have a negative voice on all such acts. Furthermore, should any governor incautiously give his assent to such acts, his majesty has reserved to himself a power to disallow the same. By the use and exercise of the other powers and privileges lodged in the general assembly, his majesty justly expects they will never make use of them in prejudice of the rights and liberties of the people, but at all times exert themselves in defence thereof. If we resemble the British constitution, as your excellency has done us the honour to declare, we humbly apprehend that no part of the legislature here should be entirely independent; as your excellency has very justly denoted to us that the three distinct branches of the legislature, preserved in a due balance, form the excellency of the British constitution; and if any of those branches should become less able to support its own dignity and freedom, the whole must inevitably suffer by the alteration. Your excellency is pleased to say that a support given, as has been usual here, cannot be honourable, because that implies no sort of confidence in the government: to which we humbly offer, that if your excellency would take notice of our grants, you would see that the very method it-

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a temporary salary upon the governor, or commander in chief, for the time being? this passed in

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self is founded on nothing else, inasmuch as they always look forward, and are given to enable the governor to go on and manage the public affairs. Thus, in this our first session, at your excellency's first and welcome arrival, the assembly made a grant of fourteen hundred pounds, to enable your excellency to manage the affairs of the province, fully confiding in your conduct. If your excellency intends that we do not put so much confidence in you as the parliament does in our most gracious sovereign, to whom the civil list is granted for life (which God long preserve), we freely acknowledge it. Is it reasonable or possible that we should confide in any governor whatever so much as in our gracious king, the common father of his people, who is known to delight in nothing so much as their happiness, and whose interest and glory, and that of his royal progeny, are inseparable from the prosperity and welfare of his people? Whereas it is most obvious, that neither the prosperity or adversity of a people affect a governor's interest at all, when he has once left them.

"Your excellency goes on and declares, that the support of the government in this manner visibly depends on an entire compliance with the other parts of the legislature. Had the governor no authority or checks upon them, we must acknowledge

in the negative. Then this question was put;—Can the house, with safety to the people, come into

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ledge this to be the case; but, as both the other parts have a great dependence on the governor's discretionary powers, the council (as the practice usually is) for their very being, and both they and the representatives for every law and proper act of the government, and for every penny put into and drawn out of the treasury, for their whole defence and security in every case of danger, as he is their captain-general, besides other obvious particulars, needless and too numerous to be named; that if, in this single instance, the governor should have dependence on the assembly as to his support, according as they shall see the province able; the other things that depend upon him for are so vastly more than a counterbalance, that it cannot be thought that the commander in chief can be hereby prevented acting according to his judgment, or remain without support. We assure your excellency, that it is not any exception to your person or administration (which we hope other parts of our conduct have made evident) that determines us against fixing a salary as prescribed. May it please your excellency, since we have so many times heretofore, and do now in the most solemn manner, and after the most strict scrutiny we are able to make in this important affair, manifest that, in faithfulness to our country, we cannot

into any other method for supporting the governor, or commander in chief, for the time being, than

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not think it advisable for this house to be concerned in passing an act for fixing a salary as prescribed, we do therefore most ardently move your excellency, that you would permit us to repair to our several homes, and not keep us sitting here, in order to our acting contrary to our native freedom and declared judgment, and so betraying the great trust and confidence our principals have reposed in us."

The secretary carried down to the house the following message from his excellency the governor:

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

"It is not at all agreeable to my inclination to enter into disputes with your honours, and for that reason I have endeavoured hitherto to be as short as the importance of the matters I have recommended to you will allow me; but since you have thought fit to lay such stress on the reasons offered in your reply of Saturday, I cannot avoid once more, for all, entering into a particular examination of them, that not only yourselves, but those whom you represent, may be enabled to judge of the controversy between us. You begin with reminding me, that the council and representatives apprehended that his majesty's service, in the necessary defence and support

than has been heretofore practised? this also passed in the negative, and was the first manifestation,

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port of the government, and the protection and preservation of the inhabitants thereof, the two great ends proposed in the power granted to this court, would be best answered without establishing a fixed salary. It ought not to be forgotten, at the same time, that the council had altered the words *would be best* into *may be well*, though you prevailed with them to recede from the amendment, and that they made this addition, 'we esteem it a great unhappiness that his majesty should think our method of supporting the governors of this province, a design of making them dependent on the people,' to which you agreed, though nothing to that effect had been asserted in your own draft. By these instances, the council appear from the first to have very different apprehensions from you, of the regard to be paid to his majesty's instruction, and of the weight of his displeasure, which last consideration (though the greatest part of my message) was not, it seems, thought by you to deserve any room at all in so long a reply. But supposing the council and you were agreed, that is to say, that two branches of the legislature thought it best to keep the third entirely dependent on them (which would be a manifest piece of partiality and injustice), is this any reason why the third should be of the same opinion? or rather does it not confirm

festation, on the part of the representatives, of a determination to make no advance towards a compromise.

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confirm the too just suspicion his majesty has of a design so dangerous to his own authority? Two branches of the legislature can bring nothing to effect without the third; and, consequently, if what seems best to them only cannot be consented to by the other, it becomes their duty then to consider what next best thing can be done in which all three can concur: for it does not follow, that if what some imagine best cannot be done, therefore nothing should be done at all: and so much for what you have said before you proceed to make reply.

"You may perceive, from what I have already expressed, upon how many accounts the reasons of the house can never appear sufficient to me, why his majesty's 23d instruction should not be complied with, and I am far from thinking that you give any answer to my former reasons. You say, "that if the method practised in Great Britain is not prejudicial to the rights and the liberties of the people there, it does not therefore follow, that fixing a salary would not prejudice the people of this province." Rights and liberties are words that have naturally the same meaning in all countries, and, unless you can shew me wherein the British rights and liberties are

defective

These votes induced the governor to remind the court of a letter from their agent, in 1722, wherein

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defective (which you have not done) I may conclude that they are not so; and, in that case, it is a natural consequence that the methods under which they have been so long safe and flourishing, are most likely to produce the same effects. But you say, "the British constitution differs from yours in many respects." I take the chief difference to have been in the use made of the constitution, which has been no ways to your advantage; for, by Great Britain's keeping up to their constitution, public credit still continues at a height, notwithstanding the vast charges and debts of the nation; but with you, credit has fallen lower and lower in an amazing manner; and this has proceeded plainly from want of a sufficient check in the other branches of the legislature, to the sudden and unadvised measures of assemblies; so that, if ever you come near the happiness of Great Britain, it must be by supporting those parts of the legislature which of late have been too much depressed, but are in themselves necessary to guard the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, as well as the house of representatives.

"As to the case of other plantations, I shall only say, if you enjoy larger privileges by the favour of the crown than they, and by consequence have more to lose by his majesty's displeasure,

wherein he mentions a conversation with Lord Carteret, in which his lordship desired him to write

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displeasure, the arguments both of gratitude and interest plead stronger with you for a compliance with an instruction in itself so just and reasonable.

"I cannot see why you apprehend, that passing acts pursuant to the instruction has a direct tendency to weaken your happy constitution, especially since you now acknowledge what I had formally observed, "that each branch of the legislature, and consequently the governor, ought to be enabled to support its own dignity and freedom," which is all that is intended by the instruction.

"I had observed "that the usual way of supporting the government implied no sort of confidence in the governor." You offer "that, if I would take notice of your grants, I should see that the very method itself is founded on nothing else, inasmuch as they always look forward, and are given to enable the governor to go on and manage the public affairs." I can scarce believe that this was intended for a serious argument, since a time, no longer ago than last winter's session, affords a plain proof to the contrary. The lieutenant-governor informed the house, in answer to their message, expressing their desire of an adjournment, "that he had consented to all the acts and votes passed the two houses, except the bill

write to the assembly, advising them not to provoke the government of England to bring their charter

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bill for emitting bills of credit, which he would have signed, were it consistent with his majesty's instruction, which it was not, in the opinion of the council:" and he concludes with reminding them, "that the proper and usual season for granting salaries is already outrun, and that he expects they will provide for the honourable support of government before they rise." The house entered into the consideration of the above message, and, after some debate had thereon, the question was put, whether the house will now come to the consideration of allowances? It passed in the negative. Then the question was put, whether the consideration of allowances shall be referred to the next session of this court? Resolved in the affirmative. In this manner was this method of grants, "that always looks forward," brought to look directly on the present business, in order to compel a compliance; or, if you like that better, to look backward by way of punishment for a denial: and so the public affairs were left to manage themselves for any care that was taken of them.

"Your next observation is not one jot a juster representation of the case before you. You say you are not for fixing a salary, because it is not reasonable or possible you should confide in any governor whatsoever, so much as in our most

charter before the parliament, for, if they did, it would, in his opinion, be dissolved, without opposition;

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gracious king, as if this instruction to demand a salary came from a governor and not from his majesty himself, and as if the salary was to be given directly to the governor, and not to his majesty, for the use of his governor, or commander in chief; or, as if, upon just complaint, his majesty could not, or would not, remove an ill governor; and, in short, as if your doing the thing would not be altogether upon confidence in his majesty, and not in any governor whatsoever. The words of respect here used to his majesty come with a very ill grace, and have not that gravity in them which would be more becoming, since in the same breath you are disregarding his own demand, and undervaluing his favour, and making light of his declaration, "that if you do not pay an immediate regard to his instruction, he will look upon it as a manifest mark of your undutiful behaviour to himself."

"You carry on the same kind of reasoning to the end of your paper, which seems much better adapted to amuse than to prove any thing. In the first place, you make a very pompous representation of the governor's authority, and of the great dependance the other parts of the general court have on his discretionary power, and call his support the single instance in which he has some dependence on the assembly;

position; and he advised them to take care, that their present proceedings did not bring their charter

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sembly; and, just after, you give an odious aspersion on an undoubted branch of the power lodged in the governor, which is to keep the general court together as long as he thinks the public affairs require it. I am at a loss to know, whether your insinuation, that I keep you here in order to compel you to act contrary to your native freedom and declared judgment, be more injurious to me or yourselves. You seem to allow the governor powers only so far as he uses them according to your pleasure; but, in using your own powers, to take it very ill to be directed by any body. You said before, "that the other things which the house depends on a governor for are so vastly more than a counterbalance to his support (you might have said subsistence, and then the irony would have appeared more openly), that it cannot be thought that the commander in chief can be thereby prevented acting according to his judgment or remain without support;" as if you were ignorant of the aforementioned proceedings of the last winter: and yet you are very ready to think, "that to keep you sitting here is a compulsion to you to act contrary to your native freedom and declared judgment, and so betray the great trust your principals have reposed in you!!" But I persuade myself your faithfulness to your country puts you above any such temptation.

ter into danger. This caution did not deter the house from preparing a statement of the controversy, and transmitting it to their several towns; in the conclusion of which, they say, that they dare neither come into a fixed salary on the governor, for ever, nor for a limited time, for the following reasons:

1st. Because it is an untrodden path, which neither we nor our predecessors have gone in, and we cannot certainly foresee the many dangers that may be in it, nor can we depart from that way which has been found safe and comfortable.

"And, as I am still of opinion that you have acted on mistaken notions, I cannot give over the hope of your coming to see things in that true light in which, I flatter myself, I have stated the point in question; and, as I am disposed to gratify you as far as is consistent with my duty and my honour, I hope you will consider what advances you can make towards a compliance, that so the present session may not be a needless burthen to the people, but still have a great issue to his majesty's and the country's service.

"WM. BURNET."

2d. Because

2d. Because it is the undoubted right of all Englishmen, by Magna Charta, to raise and dispose of money for the public service, of their own free accord, without compulsion.

3d. Because it must necessarily lessen the dignity and freedom of the house of representatives in making acts and raising and applying taxes, &c. and consequently cannot be thought a proper method to preserve that balance in the three branches of the legislature, which seems necessary to form, maintain, and uphold the constitution.

4th. Because the charter fully empowers the general assembly to make such laws and orders as they shall judge for the good and welfare of the inhabitants, and if they, or any part of them, judge this not to be for their good, they neither ought nor could come into it; for, as to act beyond or without the powers granted in the charter might justly incur the king's displeasure, so not to act up and agreeable to those powers, might justly be deemed a betraying of the rights and privileges therein granted; and if they should give up this right, they would open a door to many other inconveniences.

Many messages passed in quick succession between the chair and the house; in the course of which the arguments stated in the papers already

quoted were considerably enlarged and diversified. At length the house repeated their request that they might rise; but the governor replied, that unless his majesty's pleasure had due weight with them, their desires should have very little with him.

The council now interposed with a resolution, declaring, "that it is expedient for the court to ascertain a sum as a salary for his excellency's support, as also the term of time for its continuance." This resolution was transmitted to the house of representatives, where it was immediately disagreed to.

At length, a small seeming advance towards an accommodation was made. Instead of granting a salary, as had been usual, for half a year, a grant was made to the governor of three thousand pounds, equal to one thousand pounds sterling, in order to enable him to manage the affairs of the province, and was generally understood, though not expressed, to be a salary for a year. The governor withheld his assent from this vote, whereupon the house entreated him to accept the grant, and add, "we cannot doubt but that succeeding assemblies, according to the ability of the province, will be very ready to grant as ample a support; and, if they should not, your excellency will then have an opportunity of shewing your resentment."

resentment." The governor, however, still persisted in withholding his assent from the vote.

The country generally, and especially Boston; was opposed to a compliance with the instructions of the crown, on the subject of a fixed salary. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, convened for that purpose, the town passed a vote, purporting to be the unanimous declaration of the inhabitants of the town of Boston against fixing a salary on the governor, which was printed. In consequence of this vote, and of an opinion he had before expressed, that the members of the house could not act freely, because they were influenced by the inhabitants of the town, the governor determined to remove the court; and, on the 24th of October, he adjourned it to the 30th, then to meet at Salem, in the county of Essex.

The alteration of place did not alter the temper of the house. Votes and messages of the same tenor with those which had been so often repeated, continued to pass between them and the governor, till the subject was entirely exhausted. Nothing remained but a determination on both sides to adhere to their principles; and the house met and adjourned from day to day without entering on business.

In the mean time the governor received no sa-

lary. The members from Boston, who had not been accustomed to the expense attending on an absence from their homes, received a compensation, from their town, above their ordinary wages as representatives.

The house, firmly persuaded of the propriety of the struggle on their part, prepared a memorial to their sovereign, stating the motives on which they had acted, and praying a change in the royal instructions to the governor. Agents were appointed to represent them in England, and a vote was passed for defraying the expenses attendant on the business. With this vote the council refused to concur, because the agents had been appointed by the house of representatives singly, and the plan must have been abandoned for want of money, but for the public spirit of Boston. The merchants and other respectable inhabitants of that town, raised the necessary sums by subscription.

Letters from their agents were soon received, enclosing a report from the board of trade, before whom they had been heard by counsel, entirely disapproving the conduct of the house. The agents gave it as their opinion, that, if the house should persist in its refusal to comply with the king's instructions, the affair might be carried before the parliament. But, should even this be the case, they

they thought it more adviseable that the salary should be fixed by the supreme legislature than by that of the province; it was better, they said, "that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves."

The governor now refused to sign a warrant on the treasurer for the pay of the members. One branch of the legislature, he said, might as well go without their pay as the other. The act, and the reason for it, as will readily be supposed, were alike unsatisfactory to the house.

After a recess, from the 20th of December to the 2d of April 1729, the court met again at Salem. After repeated meetings at that place, without any accommodation, they were adjourned to meet, on the 21st of August, at Cambridge. A few days after they had assembled, the governor was seized with a fever, of which he died, on the 17th of December, at Boston.

Mr. Burnet possessed many valuable qualities; and, had he not been engaged by a wish to observe his instructions in this long contest with the province he governed, he would, in all probability, have been highly acceptable to them.

Mr. Belcher, who succeeded Mr. Burnet, arrived at Boston in the beginning of August 1730, where he was very cordially received. At the first meeting of the general court, he pressed the establishment

ment of a permanent salary, and laid before them his instructions on that subject, in which it was declared that, in the event of the continued refusal of the assembly, "his majesty will find himself under the necessity of laying the undutiful behaviour of the province before the legislature of Great Britain, not only in this single instance, but in many others of the same nature and tendency, whereby it manifestly appears that this assembly, for some years last past, have attempted, by unwarrantable practices, to weaken, if not cast off, the obedience they owe to the crown, and the dependence which all colonies ought to have upon their mother country." In the close of these instructions, his majesty adds his expectation, "that they do forthwith comply with their proposal, as the last signification of our royal pleasure to them on this subject; and, if the said assembly shall not think fit to comply therewith, it is our will and pleasure, and you are required immediately to come over to this kingdom of Great Britain, in order to give us an exact account of all that shall have passed on this subject, that we may lay the same before our parliament."

The house proceeded, as in the case of Governor Burnet, to make a grant to Mr. Belcher of one thousand pounds currency, for defraying the expense

expense of his voyage, and as a gratuity for his services while their agent in England; and, some time after, they voted him a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to enable him to manage the public affairs, &c. but fixed no time for which the allowance was made. The council concurred in this vote, adding to it, as an amendment, "and that the same sum be annually allowed for the governor's support." The amendment was disagreed to; whereupon the council made a further amendment, "that the same sum should be annually paid during his excellency's continuance in the government, and residence here." This also was disagreed to, and the resolution fell. The small-pox being in the town of Cambridge, the assembly was adjourned to Roxbury.

Two or three sessions passed with little more on the part of the governor than a repetition of his demand for a fixed salary, and an intimation that he should be obliged to go to England and render an account of their behaviour to the king. Some unsuccessful attempts were made by his friends to pass a bill, fixing the salary during his administration, and, at the same time, protesting against the principle, and against that bill being drawn into precedent. Failing in this expedient, and finding the house inflexible, he at length despaired of succeeding with them, and turned his attention

attention to the relaxation of his instructions. He advised an address from the house, requesting that he might be permitted to receive the sum they had offered to grant him. This was allowed by the crown; but it was understood that he was still to insist on a compliance with his instructions. Leave to accept particular grants was obtained for two or three years successively, and at length a general permission was conceded to accept such sums as should be given by the assembly.

Thus terminated, in Massachussetts, the stubborn contest concerning a permanent salary for their governor. Its circumstances have been given more in detail than consists with the general view of this work, because it is considered as exhibiting, in genuine colours, the character of the people engaged in it. It is considered as an early and honourable display of the same persevering temper in defence of principles believed to be right; of the same unconquerable spirit of liberty which, at a later day, on a more important occasion, tore the British colonies on this continent from a country to which, till then, they had been strongly attached.

Complaints of an unusual scarcity of money, notwithstanding the immense quantity of depreciated paper in circulation, still prevailed throughout New England. Massachusetts and New Hampshire

Hampshire were restrained from further emissions of bills of credit by the royal instructions to their governors, who were appointed by the crown. Connecticut, engaged chiefly in agricultural pursuits, did not feel so sensibly as her neighbours the mischiefs of the depreciated medium, to the creation of which she had not contributed so largely as they had. Rhode Island, equally commercial with Massachussetts, and equally fond of paper, chose her own governor, and might therefore indulge, without restraint, her passion for a system which experience will ever prove to be equally unfavourable to morals and to industry. That colony now issued one hundred thousand dollars to its inhabitants, on loan, for twenty years; and the merchants of Boston, apprehensive that this capital would transfer the stock of Massachussetts to Rhode Island, associated not to receive the new emission; and a large number of them formed a company, and issued one hundred and ten thousand pounds, redeemable in ten years, a tenth part annually in silver, at nineteen shillings the ounce, the then current rate, or, in gold, in the same proportion. The association against receiving the new emission of Rhode Island was not long observed, and the bills emitted by New Hampshire and Connecticut were also current. Silver immediately rose to twenty-seven shillings the

the ounce, and the notes issued by the merchants soon disappeared, leaving in circulation only the government paper; the quantity of which was abundantly sufficient to keep up the depreciation.

Great uneasiness prevailed through Massachussetts on this subject. By the different laws which had been passed concerning it, the last instalment of the bills was to be received in 1741, and no power existed to redeem them by further emissions. The consequence of calling in the present circulating medium, without substituting another in its place, occasioned much alarm; in addition to which the taxes had been so lightly apportioned on the first years, that the burthens now necessary for the redemption of what remained in circulation appeared insupportable. These causes excited great discontents, which were manifested in the elections, and were directed against the governor, who was known to be hostile to the paper system.

The projector of the bank again came forward, and, placing himself at the head of seven or eight hundred persons, some few of whom possessed property, proposed to form a company, which should issue one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in bills, each person to mortgage a real estate in proportion to the sums he should take out

out of the bank, or, at his option, where the sum should not exceed one hundred pounds, to give bond and two securities for the repayment of the money. Each subscriber or partner was to pay annually three per cent. interest on the sum he should take, and five per cent. of the principal, either in the bills themselves, or in the produce and manufactures of the country, at such rate as the directors from time to time should establish.

As the success of this project was supposed to depend, in a great measure, on the opinion the general court might entertain of it, great exertions were made in 1740, especially by the necessitous, and by debtors, to obtain a majority at the succeeding elections. They were so successful, that the assembly then chosen was composed principally of subscribers to the scheme, or of those who favoured it, and was long afterwards distinguished by the name of the land bank-house.

Men of fortune, and the principal merchants, refused to receive these bills, but many small traders, and other persons interested in the circulation of a depreciating currency, gave them credit. The directors themselves, it was said, became traders, and issued bills without limitation, and without giving security for their redemption. The governor exerted all his influence against the institution. Such officers as were members of it were

were displaced; and the speaker, and thirteen members elected to the council, who were also of the company, were negatived. A general confusion was apprehended; and application was made to parliament, whose controling authority, except in levying money, seems at that time not to have been questioned, for an act to suppress the company. This was readily obtained. The company was dissolved, and the possessors of the bills were allowed their action against every member of it for their amount.

About this time Governor Belcher was recalled, and Mr. Shirley was appointed to succeed him. He found the land-bank interest predominant in the house, and the treasury empty.

In this state of things he deemed it necessary to depart from the letter of his instructions to preserve their spirit. A bill was passed in 1741, declaring that all contracts should be understood to be payable in silver, at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, or in gold, in proportion. Bills of a new form were issued, purporting to be for so many ounces of silver, which were to be received in payment of all debts, with this proviso, that if they should depreciate from the time of contract to that of payment, a proportional addition to the debt should be made. This act, it is said, could not have passed the house of representatives,

tatives, had not the governor found means to soften the members of the land company. Such of them as were afterwards elected to office were permitted to remain, and those who had been removed were gradually reinstated.

The long peace which had prevailed, afforded the opportunity of settling the boundaries between the northern provinces, and considerable progress was made in adjusting the line between New York and New Jersey. The contests and doubts on this subject had occasioned much jealousy and disquiet, and their termination may be considered as a fortunate event. The geographical situation of New York was such, that its attention was early turned towards the commerce of the lakes. Mr. Burnet, then governor of that province and of New Jersey, deemed it an object of great magnitude to obtain the command of Lake Ontario; and in pursuance of this plan, he had, in 1722, erected a trading house at Oswego, in the country of the Senecas, which soon became of considerable importance.

By the erection of a new trading house, at the mouth of Onaudago river, the jealousy of the French was naturally excited; who, becoming apprehensive of losing a profitable trade they had heretofore almost entirely engrossed, and the command of Lake Ontario, launched thereon two ves-

sels, and transported materials for building a large store-house, and repairing the fort at Niagara. This was strongly opposed by the Senecas. Mr. Burnet laid the matter before the house, and remonstrated against it to Monsieur Longueil, the governor of Canada, as an encroachment on New York. He also wrote to the ministry in England, who complained to the French court; but M. Longueil proceeded to complete the fort. Unable to prevent this measure, Governor Burnet, to countervail as much as possible its effects, erected, at his own expense, a fort at Oswego. Beauharnois, who had succeeded Longueil as governor of Canada, sent a written summons to the officer posted at Oswego, requiring him to evacuate the fort; and, on his refusal, remonstrated warmly on the subject to Mr. Burnet, who replied politely to him, and in turn remonstrated against the proceedings at Niagara.

Information was afterwards received of an expedition determined on by the governor of Canada, for the purpose of demolishing the works; but the garrison being strengthened, and the Indians showing a determination to engage in defence of the place, the proposed expedition was laid aside.

Soon after the building of this fort, while Mr. Vandam was governor of New York, the French took

took possession of Crown Point, which they fortified. This important position gave them the entire command of Lake Champlain. An encroachment so evidently calculated to favour either the offensive or defensive operations of France in America, was remonstrated against and submitted to.

CHAPTER IX.

War with the southern Indians—Various causes of dissatisfaction given by the proprietors to the assembly of Carolina—Rupture with Spain—Governor endeavours to prepare the militia to repel an invasion—Combination throughout the colony to subvert the proprietary government—Revolution completed—Expedition against Charles-town from the Havannah—Peace with Spain—Many of the proprietors surrender their interest to the crown—The province divided—Georgia settled—Impolicy of the first regulations—Intrigues of the Spaniards with the Indians—and with the slaves of South Carolina—Insurrection of the slaves.

THE contests between the lords proprietors and the settlers of Carolina; and the favourable disposition manifested by Queen Anne, on receiving the complaints of the dissenters; had turned the attention of the people towards the crown. In 1741, a circumstance occurred which served greatly to increase the wish already entertained

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in that colony, of substituting the royal for the proprietary government.

The Yamassees, a powerful tribe of Indians on the north east of the Savannah, instigated, as was understood, by the Spaniards at St. Augustine, prepared, with great secresy, a general combination of all the southern Indians against the province. They fell suddenly on the traders settled among them, whom they massacred; and, being joined by the Creeks and Appalachians, advanced in great force against the southern frontiers, spreading desolation and slaughter on their route. The Congarees, Catabaws, and Cherokees engaged also in the war; and it was computed that the whole force of the enemy exceeded six thousand fighting men. The inhabitants were driven from every quarter in Charles-town; and there were many who feared that even that post might not be maintained.

Governor Craven proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He also obtained an act of assembly, empowering him to impress men; to seize arms, ammunition and stores, wherever they were to be found; to arm such trusty negroes as might be serviceable at a juncture so critical; and generally to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor. Agents were sent

sent to Virginia and England, to solicit assistance; and bills were issued for the payment of the army and their necessary expenses. The muster-roll did not exhibit more than twelve hundred men fit to bear arms; but as the town contained several forts, into which the inhabitants might retreat for safety, the governor, although the Indians had entered the northern part of the province, and approached, on that side, within fifty miles of Charles-town, determined to march out, at the head of the militia, towards the southern frontiers, which was invaded by the strongest body of the enemy. He encountered them at a place called Salt Catchers, and, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them totally, pursued them into their own country, from whence he expelled them, and drove them over the Savannah River. They were received in a very friendly manner by the Spaniards in Florida, where they settled, and from whence they continued, long afterwards, to make distressing incursions into Carolina.

The governor returned from the victorious campaign to Charles-town, where he was received by the inhabitants with every manifestation of joy and exultation.

During this invasion, the legislature had applied to the proprietors, representing the weak state of the province, the dangers which threatened it, and imploring

imploring their paternal aid and protection. Fearing lest this application might be unsuccessful, they had also instructed their agent, in case of its failure, to apply directly to the king.

The agent represented the calamitous state of the province to the proprietors, and being dissatisfied with his reception from them, petitioned the house of commons in the behalf of the distressed Carolinians. The commons addressed the king, praying his interposition, and immediate assistance to the colony. The king referred the matter to the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, who objected, that the province of Carolina was one of the proprietary governments; and were of opinion, that if it was to be protected at the expense of the nation, its government ought to be vested in the crown.

On the receipt of this opinion, the proprietors had a meeting, at which they avowed their inability to protect the province, and declared that, unless his majesty would graciously please to interpose, they could foresee nothing but the utter destruction of his faithful subjects in those parts.

A government unable to afford protection to the people was but ill adapted to the then situation of the Carolinas.

The war with the Yamassees, although it ter-

minated honourably and fortunately, brought infinite distress on the province. Agriculture had unavoidably been neglected; the produce of the country was extremely inconsiderable; the merchants were much in debt, and were pressed for remittances which they were now totally unable to make. Large emissions of paper-money were resorted to, for a temporary relief, which produced complaints from the merchants of London, in consequence of which, instructions were given by the proprietors to the governor, to reduce the quantity in circulation. These instructions added to the discontents existing already.

Another measure on the part of the proprietors, much less defensive than this, greatly increased the irritation of the public mind.

The assembly appropriated the Yamassee country, which the colony had conquered, to the use of such of his majesty's subjects as would come over and settle it. The extracts from the law on this subject being published in England and Ireland, five hundred men from the latter kingdom emigrated to Carolina, to take the benefit of it. This influx of inhabitants served to cover the southern frontiers, and was in every respect a valuable acquisition to the province. But the proprietors defeated the advantages expected from it, by repealing the law, and claiming the lands as their

their own property, insisting rigorously on their right to dispose of them as they should think proper.

Not long afterwards, to the utter ruin of the Irish emigrants, and to the destruction of this barrier against the savages, they ordered these lands to be surveyed, and erected into baronies for themselves.

The colonists had been accustomed to elect all the members of their assembly at Charles-town. As the settlements extended, this practice became extremely inconvenient, and was also found to expose the elections to undue influence and infinite abuse. To remedy these mischiefs, an act was passed, declaring that every parish should choose a certain number of representatives, and that the election should be held, in each, at the parish church.

As if to destroy themselves in the province, this popular, convenient, and wise law, was repealed also by the proprietors. The colonists now grew outrageous, and spoke openly and loudly of the tyranny and bad policy of their landlords, and of their total inattention to the distresses of freemen.

Heavy expenses were still incurred, to defend themselves from the inroads of the southern Indians, and the people complained bitterly of the insufficiency

insufficiency of that government which could not protect them, and yet prevented the interposition of the crown for that purpose.

In this temper, Governor Johnson, son of the former governor of the same name, found the province. This gentleman was a man of wisdom, integrity, and moderation; but his instructions were by no means adapted to the circumstances and dispositions of the colony. He met the assembly with a conciliating speech, and received from them an answer, expressive of their satisfaction at the appointment of a man of his good character to the high office he at present filled. His original popularity was very greatly increased by the courage he displayed in two expeditions against a formidable band of pirates, who had long infested the coast, and were now entirely extirpated.

These expeditions, though successful, were expensive, and occasioned still further emissions of paper money. The governor was instructed to diminish its quantity, and had influence enough with the assembly to obtain an act for paying off their bills of credit in three years, by a tax on land and negroes. This tax fell heavy on the planters, who began to contrive ways and means to elude it, by obtaining a legislative act for a further emission of bills of credit. The proprietors having received intelligence of this design, and

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also of an intention on the part of the assembly to make the produce of the country a tender in payment of all debts, at a fixed value, enjoined the governor not to give his assent to any bill framed by the assembly, nor to render it of any force in the colony, until it should be laid before them.

About the same time the king, by his order in council, signified to the proprietors, that they should repeal an act passed in Carolina, for imposing a duty of ten per cent. on all goods of British manufacture imported into that province. Accordingly, this act, and one declaring the right of the assembly to nominate a receiver of the public moneys, were repealed, and sent over to the governor, with the repeal of the election law, in a letter, directing him to dissolve the present assembly, and to hold a new election at Charles-town, according to antient usage.

The governor laid his instructions before the council, where it was determined, as the assembly was employed in devising the means of paying the debt contracted by the expedition against the pirates, and for other contingent charges of government, to postpone their dissolution until the business then before them should be finished.

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The repeal of the law imposing duties was, however, immediately communicated, with the royal displeasure at the clause laying a duty on British manufactures; and it was recommended to them to pass another act, omitting that clause.

Meanwhile, the governor's instructions were divulged, notwithstanding his endeavours to conceal them. They excited vast irritation, and the assembly engaged in a very warm debate, on the right of the proprietors to repeal a law enacted with the consent of their deputy in the province.

About this time, Chief Justice Trott, who had become extremely obnoxious to the colonists, was charged with many iniquitous practices, and the assembly requested the governor and council to join them in representing his conduct to the proprietors. The governor and the major part of the council agreed to join the assembly in their memorial; and Mr. Young, a man of respectable abilities, was deputed their agent on this occasion.

Soon after his arrival in London, he presented a memorial to the proprietors, stating what had been done in Carolina, with the reasons of the assembly, relative to the right of their lordships to repeal

repeal laws which had been approved by their deputies.

This memorial met with a very unfavourable reception. The members of the council who had joined in it were displaced, and others appointed in their room. The proprietors strongly asserted their right to repeal all laws passed in the province; expressed their approbation of the conduct of the chief justice; and reprobated that of the governor, for having disobeyed their instructions respecting the dissolution of the assembly, and repeated their orders on this subject.

However the governor might disapprove the instructions given him, he did not hesitate in resolving to obey them. The new council was summoned, the present assembly was dissolved, and writs were issued for electing another at Charlestown.

About this time, a rupture having taken place between Great Britain and Spain, advice was received from England of a project formed in the Havannah for invading South Carolina and the island of Providence. The governor immediately determined to put the province in a state of defence; and, to enable him to do so, he convened the council and such members of the assembly as were in town, and laid before them the intelligence he had received, desiring their advice and assistance

tance in case of a sudden emergency. He also stated to them the shattered condition of the fortifications, and urged the necessity of speedily repairing them; for which purpose he proposed a voluntary subscription, and, as an example to others, made a liberal donation himself. The assembly replied, that a subscription was unnecessary, as the receipts from the duties would be sufficient for the purpose intended. On his observing that the law imposing duties was repealed; they answered, that they had determined to pay no attention to those repeals, and had ordered the receiver-general to prosecute every person who refused payment of them.

This declaration produced a contest between the members of the two branches of the legislature, which soon became warm, and a conference, which they held on the occasion, terminated without producing any agreement between them.

Judging it prudent to be in the best posture of defence, the governor called a meeting of the field officers of the militia; ordered them to review their regiments; and appointed a place of general rendezvous. At this meeting, the field officers received their orders with their usual appearance of submission, and called together their regiments, under the pretence of training them. But the members of the new assembly, though they had

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not been regularly called together at Charles-town, had held several private meetings in the country, to concert measures of future resistance. They had drawn up an association, for uniting the whole province in opposition to the proprietary government, which was to be proposed to the militia at their public meetings, as the most proper occasion for obtaining its general subscription. It was subscribed almost unanimously. The people, who had probably been prepared at their regimental meetings, engaged to stand by each other in defence of their rights and privileges, against the tyranny of the proprietors and their officers. This confederacy was formed with such secresy and dispatch, that, before the governor was informed of it, almost every inhabitant of the province had engaged in it.

The members of the assembly, thus supported by the people, resolved to proceed with firm and steady steps to the total overthrow of the power of the proprietors.

The governor, who resided on a plantation he held in the country, had no intimation of these secret meetings and transactions till he received a letter from a committee of the representatives of the people, informing him that they were appointed to wait on him, for the purpose of offering him the government of the province under the king,

as it had been determined to submit no longer to that of the proprietors. The letter expressed a high sense of his merits, and strong wishes that he should accept the dignity offered to him.

Mr. Johnson did not hesitate in determining to suppress, if possible, the spirit of revolt which had now displayed itself; for which purpose, he hastened to town to convene his council, and lay the letter before them. They advised him to take no notice of it until the legislature should be regularly convened.

In the mean time, the members of the assembly continued to be extremely active in engaging the people to support their representatives in whatever measures they might adopt, for rescuing the colony from the yoke of the proprietors, and placing it under the immediate government of the king. On their first meeting, they resolved that laws pretended to be repealed continued in force, and that no power other than the general assembly could repeal them. That the writs, under which they were elected, were void, in as much as they had been issued by advice of an unconstitutional council. That the representatives cannot, therefore, act as an assembly, but as a convention, delegated by the people, to prevent the utter ruin of the government; and lastly, that the lords proprietors,

prietors had unhinged the frame of their government, and forfeited their right thereto; and that an address be prepared, to desire the honourable Robert Johnson, the present governor, to take on himself the government in the name of the king. The address was drawn up and signed by Arthur Middleton, as president of the convention, and by twenty-two members. The governor having sent them a message, informing them that he was ready to receive their speaker, and ordering them to choose one, they waited on him in a body, and offered him the government, to be held immediately under the crown.

The result of the consultations in council on this proposition, was a message from the governor and council, requesting a conference with the house of assembly. They refused to receive any message from the governor, in concert with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his council.

Yielding, in some degree, to the current, the governor sent them the speech intended to have been delivered, in which he used his utmost endeavours to induce them to return, to what he termed their duty, and to re-acknowledge the authority of the proprietors.

The house returned no answer other than a repetition of their former determination, that

they would take no notice of any message or paper sent by the governor, in conjunction with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his council.

They soon afterwards addressed the governor, avowing their resolution to cast off all obedience to the proprietary government, and repeating their entreaties to him to take upon himself the government of the province in the name of the king. This request was peremptorily refused. A proclamation, dissolving the assembly, was issued, after which the governor immediately retired into the country.

The proclamation was torn from the hands of the officer, and the assembly, continuing its session, chose Colonel James Moore for their governor.

Governor Johnson had appointed a day for a general review of the provincial militia, and the convention fixed on the same day for proclaiming Moore. Mr. Johnson, having intelligence of this procedure, ordered Colonel Paris, the commanding officer of the militia, to postpone the review to a subsequent day, and the colonel assured him his order should be obeyed; yet, when the governor came to town, on the day appointed, he found the militia drawn up in Market Square, and great preparations

preparations making for the proclamation of Moore.

His efforts to arrest this measure were ineffectual. The convention, escorted by the militia, marched publicly to the fort, where Moore was proclaimed governor of the province, in the name of the king: after which they proceeded to elect a council, and to publish a declaration, stating the revolution which had taken place, and the reasons of their conduct.

The legislature then proceeded deliberately to manage the affairs of the province, and to impose a tax for the service of the current year. Governor Johnson's attempts to embarrass them were totally unsuccessful. The whole province supported them, and he found himself entirely deserted.

In the mean time, certain advice was received, that the armament from the Havannah, consisting of fourteen ships, and twelve hundred men, had sailed. The most vigorous preparations were made, by the new government, for the defence of the country.

Fortunately, this armament never reached Charles-town. The Spaniards had determined to attack Providence, and then to proceed against Carolina. In this first attempt they were repulsed,

and soon afterwards lost a considerable part of their fleet in a storm, on which the expedition was abandoned. An accommodation between England and Spain was soon afterwards effected, so that no further fears of danger from abroad obstructed the arrangements of the interior, which now entirely occupied the new government.

In the mean time, the agent for the colony obtained a hearing before the lords of the regency and council in England, (the king being then in Hanover,) who were of opinion that the proprietors had forfeited their charter. They ordered the attorney-general to take out a *scire facias* against it, and appointed Francis Nicholson provisional governor of the province, under the king.

The new governor was received with great and universal joy, and the people of Carolina passed, with infinite satisfaction, from the theoretic system of Mr. Locke, and the proprietary government, which had certainly been very badly administered, and which possessed not the means of protecting them, to an immediate subjection to the crown of England.

This revolution was completed by an agreement between the crown and seven of the proprietors; whereby, for the sum of seventeen thousand five hundred

hundred pounds sterling, they surrendered to the king their right and interest, not only in the government, but in the soil also. This agreement was confirmed by an act of parliament. Soon afterwards, John Lord Carteret, the remaining proprietor, also surrendered to the crown all his interest in the government, but retained his rights of property.

Carolina, now re-annexed to the crown, received with joy the same form of government which had been bestowed on her sister colonies. One of its first measures was, to establish a firm and solid peace with their Indian neighbours, and particularly with the Cherokees, who are said to have been able, at that time, to raise six thousand fighting men. The colonists, now pleased with their situation, and secure in the protection of the crown, turned their attention to domestic and agricultural pursuits, and the face of the country soon evidenced the happy effects which result from contented industry directed by those who are to receive its fruits.

The credit of the colony increased with its stock of labour; and the depreciation of its paper medium, which had already sunk to seven for one, decreased no further, but continued stationary for forty years. For the convenience of the inhabi-

tants, the province was divided, and was from this time distinguished by the names of North and South Carolina.

About this period, too, a new colony was projected in England. The tract of country, lying between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, at that time deemed the southern boundary of British America, was totally unoccupied by European settlers. A company was formed for the humane purpose of transplanting into this unsettled wilderness the suffering poor, who abounded in the mother-country, and who might be willing to search, in the new world, the means of subsistence. To this company, the territory between the Savannah and Alatamaha, now denominated Georgia, was granted; and a corporation, consisting of twenty-one persons, was created, under the name of "trustees for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia." Large sums of money were subscribed, which were applied towards arming, clothing, furnishing with food, and utensils for cultivation, and transporting, such poor people as should be willing to go over and begin the new settlement.

In November, one hundred and sixteen persons embarked at Gravesend, under the conduct of Mr. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, who arrived

arrived early the next year at Charles-town, from whence he soon afterwards proceeded to the tract of country allotted for the new colony, and laid the foundation of the town of Savannah, on the river which bears that name. A small fort was erected on its banks, in which some guns were mounted for the defence of the place. A treaty was held with the Creek Indians, to whom the lands were admitted to belong, and the cession of a considerable tract was obtained from them. Great efforts continued to be made on the part of the trustees, towards accomplishing the object they had undertaken, and several companies of emigrants were obtained. Unfortunately, the wisdom of their regulations was by no means proportioned to the humanity which had stimulated them to undertake the task in which they were engaged. Totally unacquainted with the situation of the country they were to govern, they devised for it a system rather calculated to impede than promote its population.

In their general plan, they considered each inhabitant both as a soldier and a planter, to be provided with arms and ammunition for defence, as well as with utensils for cultivation. But this opinion, however correct in itself, was the foundation of a measure the most pernicious that could have been imagined. With a view to promote

the strength of the province, they agreed to establish such tenures for holding lands, as they judged most favourable to a military establishment. Each tract granted was considered as a military fief, for which the possessor was to appear in arms, and take the field, when called upon for the public defence. The grants were in *tail male*, and, on the termination of the estate, were to revert to the trust, to be re-granted to such persons as would most benefit the colony, only paying regard to the daughters of those who should have improved their lots, especially if unprovided in marriage; and the widows of the grantees were to be entitled for life to the mansion-house, and to one half the lands their husbands had improved. Any part of the lands granted, which should not be enclosed, cleared, and cultivated, within eighteen years, reverted to the trust. The importation of negroes and of rum was absolutely prohibited, and only those, to whom a license for that purpose should be given, were allowed to carry on any trade with the Indians.

However specious the arguments in support of these regulations might appear to the trustees, the mind of man could scarcely have found a system more certainly calculated to defeat the settlement of their colony.

The tenure by which their lands were held, drove

drove the settlers into Carolina, where that property was to be acquired in fee simple. The prohibition of the introduction of slaves rendered the task of opening the country too heavy to be undertaken successfully in that burning climate; and the restrictions on their trade to the West Indies, deprived them of the only market for lumber, an article in which they abounded.

Mr. Oglethorpe, however, engaged with activity in the business of constructing fortifications for the defence of the country. He erected one fort at the Savannah, at Augusta, and another on an island in the Alatamaha, called Frederica. Ten miles nearer the sea, a battery was constructed, commanding the entrance into the sound, through which all ships of force must pass that might be sent against Frederica. These forts were calculated for defence against the Indians, and against their neighbours in Florida. The Spaniards remonstrated against them, and a commissioner, dispatched from the Havannah, insisted on the evacuation of the country to the thirty-third degree of north latitude, which he claimed as belonging to the king of Spain; but their remonstrances and claim were equally disregarded.

The restrictions imposed by the trustees on the inhabitants of Georgia were too oppressive not to be

be complained of. They remonstrated particularly against the tenures by which their lands were held, and against the prohibition to the introduction of slaves. These complaints were the result of experience, but they were addressed to persons having but little knowledge of the condition of the petitioners, and were therefore neglected. The settlement of Carolina, not unlike that of Georgia, both in soil and climate, advanced with much greater rapidity. Although emigration to the latter colony was encouraged, by paying the passage money of the emigrants, by furnishing them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and implements of husbandry; by maintaining their families for the first year, and, in some instances, by furnishing them with stock: yet the tenure of their lands, and the want of that labour which was to be furnished by slaves from Africa, more than counterbalanced all these advantages; and in the space of ten years, during which time the exports from Carolina were more than doubled, the settlers in Georgia could, with infinite difficulty, obtain a scanty subsistence.

The differences betwixt England and Spain had now assumed a serious aspect, and both nations prepared for war. The Spaniards, on their part, strengthened East Florida; and a British regiment, consisting

consisting of six hundred effective men, was ordered into Georgia. The command of the troops, both of Georgia and Carolina, was given to Oglethorpe, who was appointed a major-general, and who fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, on the Alatamaha.

While hostilities were expected, but had not yet commenced, the Spaniards at St. Augustine made an unavailing effort to detach from the English interest their Indian allies. They were more successful in their intrigues among the blacks of Carolina: Spanish agents had been secretly employed in seducing the slaves of that province to escape to St. Augustine, where liberty was promised them, and where they were formed into a regiment officered by themselves. Hitherto, these practices had produced no other inconvenience, than the loss of those negroes who ran away from their masters, and took refuge among the Spaniards; but, about this time, the evil assumed a much more alarming form. A large number of slaves assembled at Stono, where they forced a warehouse containing arms and ammunition; murdered the whites in possession of it; and, having chosen a captain, directed their march south-westwardly, with drums beating and colours flying. They massacred the whites they fell in with, seized all the arms

arms they could find; and forced such blacks, as did not voluntarily join them, to follow their party. Intoxicated with ardent spirits, and with their short-lived success, they considered their work as already achieved, and halted in an open field, where the time, which might have been employed in increasing their numbers and extending their devastation, was devoted to dancing and exultation. Fortunately, on the same day, there was a very considerable meeting in the neighbourhood, to attend divine service; and, as was then directed by law, the whole congregation was armed. They marched immediately against the blacks, who were completely surprized; and great numbers of them were killed on the spot. Thus the insurrection was entirely suppressed on the day of its commencement, and such of its leaders as survived the battle were immediately executed.

Although this ill-conducted effort, from the concurrence of some fortunate circumstances, failed entirely of its object, it was attended with the loss of about twenty whites, who were murdered in the short space of its continuance, and the destruction of several houses, which were consumed by fire. It impressed, too, on the Carolinians, a strong sense of the danger of their situation. About forty thousand blacks, inured to labour, and with

constitutions

constitutions adapted to the climate, were at that time dispersed through their settlements. The most intelligent among them well knew the reception which had been given to their brethren at St. Augustine, and counted on the aid and protection of the Spaniards, in any attempt they might make on the whites, who did not much exceed one-third of their number. Thus perilous was their situation, when a war with Spain appeared to be certainly approaching. As the best measure of safety which could be devised in this crisis, application was immediately made to General Oglethorpe, then on the frontiers of Georgia, to search diligently for straggling Spaniards and negroes, and to seize all such as could be found.

During the long repose which the pacific temper of the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in the minority of Louis XV. and the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, gave to their respective countries, the British colonies in America increased in population and in wealth in a ratio heretofore unexampled. Lands were cheap and subsistence easily acquired. From New York to Virginia inclusive, no enemy existed to restrain new settlements, and no fears of inability to maintain a family checked the natural disposition to early marriages. The people were employed in cultivating

vating the earth, and spreading over the vast country which was open to them; and, during this period, their history furnishes none of those remarkable events, the detail of which, while it interests, ought to instruct posterity.

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CHAPTER X.

War declared against Spain—Expedition against St. Augustine—Georgia invaded—Spaniards land on an island in the Alatamaha—Appearance of a fleet from Charles-town—Spanish army are seized with a panic, and re-embark—Hostilities with France—Plan for attacking Louisbourg—Louisbourg surrenders.

THE increasing complaints of the merchants, and the loud clamours of the nation, at length forced the minister out of the pacific system he had adopted, and on the 23d of October, 1739, war was declared against Spain. Admiral Vernon was detached with a squadron to the West Indies, with instructions to act offensively; and General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the settlements in Florida by all means in his power. He immediately projected an expedition against St. Augustine. This design he communicated by letter to Mr. Bull, lieutenant-governor of South Carolina,

Carolina, and requested the assistance of that province towards its execution. To be freed from neighbours so troublesome, and so dangerous, who were at the same time hated and feared, was an object of great magnitude to Carolina; and the proposition of General Oglethorpe, which was laid by the lieutenant-governor before the assembly, was extremely well received by that body, and could not fail being very grateful to the colony at large. The general, who had understood that St. Augustine was badly supplied with provisions, and who went himself to Charles-town for the purpose of concerting with more secrecy and dispatch the plan of the expedition, laid before the legislature of South Carolina an estimate of the force he judged requisite for its success.

The assembly voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the service; and a regiment, consisting of four hundred men, the command of which was given to Colonel Vanderdussen, was immediately raised in Virginia and the two Carolinas. A body of Indians was engaged for the expedition; and Captain Price, who commanded the small fleet on that station, consisting of four ships of twenty guns each, and two sloops, promised his co-operation. These arrangements being made, General Oglethorpe appointed the mouth

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of St. John's river, on the coast of Florida, as the place of general rendezvous, and set out for Georgia to rejoin his regiment, and prepare it for the expedition.

On the 9th of May, 1740, he entered Florida, at the head of four hundred select men of his own regiment, aided by a party of Indians, and on the next day invested Diego, a small fort about twenty-five miles from St. Augustine, which, after a short resistance, capitulated. He then returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by General Vanderdussen with his regiment, and by a company of Highlanders under the command of Captain M'Intosh. A few days afterwards, the general marched with his whole force, consisting of above two thousand men, regulars, provincials, and Indians, for Fort Moosa, situated about two miles from St. Augustine, which on his approach was evacuated. He then proceeded to reconnoitre the town and fort, and soon discovered that the enterprise would be attended with more hazard and difficulty than had been expected. The garrison had availed itself of the time which intervened between his entering Florida and appearance before the town to collect the cattle and provisions from the neighbourhood; in addition to which, six Spanish half gallies with long brass nine pounders, and

and two sloops laden with provisions, had got into the harbour. Finding the place tolerably well fortified, and the garrison prepared for his reception, he relinquished his original idea of taking the fort by storm, and determined to invest it completely, and to advance by regular approaches. He left Colonel Palmer with ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at Fort Moosa; detached colonel Vanderdussen with his regiment over a small creek, to take possession of a neck of land, called Point Quartel, above a mile from the town, with orders to erect a battery thereon; while he himself, with his own regiment, and the greater number of the Indians, passed over to the island of Anastatia, from whence he resolved to bombard the town. Captain Price stationed one of his ships to guard the passage of the Motanzas; and, with the others, blocked up the mouth of the harbour.

The batteries were soon erected, and the cannonade began from the island, which was returned from the town; but the distance was so great that little execution could be done on either side. Finding the river between the island and the castle too wide to batter in breach, and that it could not be passed without first destroying the half gallies, it was proposed to attack them in the night.

night. Captain Warren offered to conduct this enterprise; but, on sounding the bar, the water was found too shallow to admit the passage of one of the large ships to the attack, so that this plan was necessarily abandoned. Colonel Palmer was surprised, and his detachment cut to pieces; and the vessel being called off from the passage at the Motanzas, some small ships from the Havannah, with a reinforcement of men and supply of provisions, entered the harbour through that narrow channel. All prospect of starving the enemy being now lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The provincials, enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless efforts, marched away in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season for hurricanes approaching, Captain Price judged it imprudent to hazard his majesty's ships by remaining longer on that coast. The general, labouring under a fever, and finding his regiment as well as himself worn out with fatigue, and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with infinite reluctance abandoned an enterprise, concerning the success of which he had been extremely sanguine, and returned to Frederica, which place he reached on the 10th of July.

Greatly disappointed and chagrined by the

failure of an expedition, from which the total expulsion of the Spaniards from Florida had been anticipated, the colonists attributed this misfortune entirely to the incapacity of the general. They blamed his delays before the place was invested, and his inactivity afterwards. He was charged with having sacrificed the party under Colonel Palmer; with having wasted his time in fruitless deliberations; and having harassed his troops with unnecessary marches. They complained that he had not allowed them a sufficient quantity of provisions, and had poisoned them with brackish water. He was not less dissatisfied with them. He declared that he could not depend on the firmness and courage of the provincials; that they refused obedience to his orders; and had at last deserted his camp.

The truth probably is, that the force was unequal to the object, and could not have attained it, unless the general had been fortunate enough to have invested the place before the arrival of the half gallies, and before supplies of provisions were received. Oglethorpe appears not to have been justly blameable for having delayed to perform this. The troops from Carolina did not reach the place of rendezvous early enough, to have enabled him to

seize

seize the moment which might have given him victory.

To whatever causes the failure of the expedition might be attributed, it occasioned a great increase of burden to Carolina, and produced a mutual and injurious want of confidence between the general and the colonists.

In the same year South Carolina was afflicted with a calamity of still greater magnitude. Charles-town, its capital, was reduced to ashes. The loss was immense. A great portion of its inhabitants passed in one day from prosperity to indigence. Under the pressure of this misfortune, the legislature applied to the British parliament for aid; and that body, with a liberality reflecting honour on its members, voted twenty thousand pounds sterling to be distributed among the distressed sufferers.

It was not long before the state of things was such as to manifest the dangers, resulting not only from the distrust and dislike cherished by the colonists for General Oglethorpe, but also for the want of a power to produce a co-operation of the common force, for the common defence. Spain had ever considered the settlement of Georgia as an encroachment on its territory, and had cherished the determination to seize every proper occasion to dislodge the English by force from their

their possessions in that country. With this view an armament, consisting of two thousand men, commanded by Don Antonio di Rodondo, embarked at the Havannah, under the convoy of a strong squadron, and in May, 1742, arrived at St. Augustine. The fleet was seen on its passage, and immediate notice was given to General Oglethorpe, who, without loss of time, communicated the intelligence to Governor Glenn of South Carolina, and urged strongly on him the necessity of collecting as soon as possible, and sending to his assistance the troops of that province, and at the same time of dispatching a sloop to the West Indies, to inform Admiral Vernon of the expected invasion.

Georgia was at that time a barrier for South Carolina, and no reasonable doubt could be entertained but that the latter colony would be best defended by keeping the enemy out of its bosom, and meeting him on the frontiers of the former. It was fairly to be presumed that an union of forces would much more certainly defeat the projected invasion, and secure both provinces, than that either could be protected by its own particular strength. In the invading army too were some companies, composed of negroes, who had fled from Carolina to St. Augustine, whose officers appeared in regimentals, on an equal

equal footing with those from Europe; nor could their ancient masters be insensible to the dangers they had to apprehend from such invaders. Yet Carolina, either from her prejudices against Oglethorpe, or the disposition so natural to separate governments, to preserve their own force for their own proper defence, refused to give that general any assistance. Their attention was entirely directed to the defence of Charles-town; and the inhabitants of their southern frontier, instead of marching to the camp of Oglethorpe, fled to that city for safety. The general, in the mean time, collected a few Highlanders and rangers of Georgia, together with as many Indian warriors as could join him, and with this force added to his regiment determined vigorously to defend Frederica.

About the end of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, and carrying above three thousand men, came to anchor off Simons bar. After sounding the bar, and finding a sufficient depth of water, they came with the flood tide into Jekyl sound, and passing Simons fort, where General Oglethorpe then was, without injury from his fire, proceeded up the Alatamaha, out of the reach of his guns. They then landed on the island, and erected a battery of twenty eighteen pounders.

Judging Fort Simons to be indefensible, Oglethorpe spiked his guns, abandoned the place, and retreated to Frederica. His whole force, exclusive of Indians, which was now collected together, amounted to little more than seven hundred men. With these he could only hope to act on the defensive till the arrival of the reinforcements which he still expected from South Carolina. To this system the face of the country was peculiarly favourable. Its thick woods and deep morasses opposed great obstacles to the advance of an invading enemy, not well acquainted with the byways through which they might be penetrated. He constantly employed his Indians, and occasionally his company of Highlanders, in scouring the woods, harassing the outposts of the enemy, picking up stragglers, and impeding as much as possible their march, in whatever direction they might move. In their attempts to pierce the woods, in order to reach Frederica, several sharp rencounters took place, in one of which the Spaniards lost a captain, and two lieutenants killed, and above one hundred men taken prisoners. Their general then changed his plan of operations; and, abandoning for the present his scheme of marching to Frederica by land, he called in his parties, kept his men under cover of his cannon, and detached some vessels with a body of troops

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on board up the river to reconnoitre the fort, and draw the attention of the English to that quarter. About this time an English prisoner, who escaped from the Spaniards, informed General Oglethorpe that a difference existed between the troops from Cuba and those from St. Augustine, which had increased to such a point that they encamped in separate places. This intelligence suggested to him the idea of attacking the enemy while thus divided; and his perfect knowledge of the woods favoured the hope of surprising one of their encampments. To execute this plan, he drew out the flower of his little army, and marched in the night, entirely unobserved, within two miles of the camp. Here his troops halted, and he advanced himself, at the head of a select corps, to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy. While he was using the utmost circumspection to obtain the necessary information without being discovered, a French soldier of his party discharged his musket, and ran into the Spanish lines. Discovery defeated every hope of success, and the general immediately retreated to Frederica. He was justly apprehensive that the deserter would disclose to the enemy his weakness, and thereby increase his danger. In this state of embarrassment, he, according to the historian of South Carolina, devised an expedient which

which turned greatly to his advantage, an event from which so much mischief had been apprehended. He wrote to the deserter a letter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and the ease with which his small garrison might be cut to pieces. He pressed him to urge them to the attack; but, if he could not succeed so far, to persuade them to stay at least three days longer at Fort Simons; for within that time, according to late advices from South Carolina, he should receive a reinforcement of two thousand men and six British ships of war. He cautioned the deserter against dropping any hint of the attack meditated by Admiral Vernon against St. Augustine, and assured him that the reward for his services should be ample. Oglethorpe tampered with one of the Spanish prisoners, who, for a small bribe, promised to deliver this letter to the deserter, after which he was permitted to escape. The prisoner, as had been foreseen, delivered the letter to his general, who ordered the deserter to be put in irons. He was in no small degree embarrassed to determine whether the letter ought to be considered as a mere stratagem to prevent the attack of Frederica, and induce him to abandon the enterprise, or as serious instructions to direct the conduct of a spy. While he was hesitating

sitating on the course to be pursued, his doubts were removed by one of those lucky incidents which have so much influence over human affairs.

Although the assembly of South Carolina refused to send their men to the assistance of General Oglethorpe, they voted a supply of money, and some ships of force were ordered by the governor to his aid. These appeared off the coast while the principal officers of the Spanish army were yet deliberating on the letter which had been received. They deliberated no longer; the whole army was seized with a panic; they set fire to the fort, and embarked in great hurry and confusion, leaving behind them several pieces of heavy artillery, and a quantity of provisions and military stores.

Thus was Georgia delivered from an invasion which threatened the total conquest of the province.* The ill success of these reciprocal efforts to subdue each other seems to have entirely discouraged both parties. The Spanish and English colonies in their neighbourhood contented themselves, for the residue of the war, with guarding their own frontiers, and no further attempts at

* History of South Carolina and Georgia.

invasion

invasion were made by either of them. Considerable aid, however, was given by the British colonies to their operations in the West Indies.

The connection between the branches of the house of Bourbon was too intimate to permit the indulgence of a hope that peace with France could be of long continuance, after war had been declared against Spain. On both sides hostilities were expected and prepared for. The fortified places in the northern provinces were therefore repaired and improved, and considerable exertions were made to put them in a state of defence. War between these two rival nations had commenced in fact, though not in form, on the continent of Europe; but as their military operations were professed to be carried on by them as auxiliaries, in support of the contending claims of the elector of Bavaria and the queen of Hungary to the Imperial throne, and not as principals, they preserved in America a suspicious and jealous suspension of hostility, rather than a real peace.* This state of things was, in 1744, interrupted by a sudden attack made by the French from Cape Breton.

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* Belknap. Charlevoix.

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The governor at that place, having received early information that France and England had become principals in the war, immediately resolved on the destruction of the English fishery at Canseau. For this purpose, Duvivier was detached with a few armed vessels, and about nine hundred men, with which force he took possession of the island, and made the garrison and inhabitants prisoners of war. This enterprise was quickly followed by an attempt on Annapolis, which was defeated by the timely arrival of a reinforcement from Massachussetts. These offensive operations on the part of the French stimulated the English colonists to additional efforts, to expel from America such dangerous neighbours, and to unite the whole northern continent under one common sovereign. The island of Cape Breton, so denominated from one of its capes, lies between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude, at the distance of fifteen leagues from Cape Roy, the south-western extremity of Newfoundland. Its soil and climate are equally uninviting; and as the island forms an eddy to the current which sets through the gulf of St. Lawrence, its harbours are filled with large quantities of floating ice with which its shores are environed till late in the spring. On the north and west sides it is steep and inaccessible; but the south-

south-eastern side is full of fine bays and harbours, capable of receiving and securing ships of any burden. Its position between Canada, France, and the West Indies, rendered its possession very material to the commerce of that nation; and the facility with which both the French and English fisheries might be annoyed from its ports, gave it an importance to which it could not otherwise have been entitled. Twenty-five years and thirty millions of livres * had been employed in its fortification: from its strength, and perhaps still more from the multitude of privateers that issued from its ports, it had been termed the Dunkirk of America. On this place Governor Shirley meditated an attack.

The prisoners taken at Canseau, and others who had been captured at sea, and carried to Louisbourg, were sent to Boston; and the information received from them greatly contributed towards this hazardous enterprise, and perhaps originally suggested it. It was understood that Duvivier had gone to France to solicit assistance for the conquest of Nova Scotia in the course of the ensuing campaign, and that the store ships from France for Cape Breton, not having arrived

* About five and a half millions of dollars.

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on the coast till it was blocked up with ice, had retired to the West Indies.

Governor Shirley wrote to the British ministry, representing the danger to which Nova Scotia was exposed, of being attacked by the French the ensuing spring, and praying for naval assistance. These letters were sent by Captain Ryal, an officer of the garrison, which had been taken at Canseau, whose knowledge of Louisbourg, and of the great consequence of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, it was hoped, would enable him to make such representations to the lords of the admiralty as might be of service to the views of the northern colonies.

The governor was not disappointed. Orders were immediately dispatched to Commodore Warren, then in the West Indies, to proceed early in the spring towards the north, and employ such a force as might be sufficient to protect the northern colonies in their trade and fisheries, as well as to distress the enemy. On those subjects he was instructed to consult with Shirley, to whom orders of the same date were written, enclosed to Warren, directing the governor to assist the king's ships with transports, men, and provisions.

Such deep impression had the design of taking Louisbourg made on the mind of Shirley, that he

he did not wait for intelligence from England of the reception there given to his application for naval assistance. He is stated to have been induced to decide on engaging in the enterprise, even without such assistance, by the representations of Mr. Vaughan, son of the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, a man of a sanguine and ardent temper, who could think nothing impracticable which he wished to achieve. Mr. Vaughan had never been at Louisbourg, but he had learned, from fishermen and others, something of the strength of the place, and the bold turn of his mind suggested the idea of surprising it. There is something infectious in enthusiasm, whatever may be the direction of the passions, and Vaughan soon communicated to Shirley his own convictions.

The governor informed the general court that he had a proposal of very great importance to make them, and requested that the members would take an oath of secrecy previous to his laying it before them. The novel request was readily complied with, and the plan he had formed for attacking Louisbourg was submitted to their consideration. The outlines of the expedition now proposed were, that a body of four thousand troops, with the necessary preparations for a siege, should proceed in small transports to

Canseau,

Canseau, and land, the first favourable opportunity, at Chapeau Rouge bay. To prevent supplies of provisions from reaching the enemy, all the armed vessels which could be procured were to cruize off the harbour of Louisbourg,* so soon as the season of the year would permit. No one of these vessels exceeded twenty guns; but a hope was entertained that some aid might be obtained from Commodore Warren, who was then stationed with several ships among the Leeward Islands, but whose orders had not yet been received.

This plan very much surprised such of the members as had received no previous intimation of the design. It was however referred to a committee of both houses, where the arguments for and against the enterprise were temperately reviewed, and the part suggested by prudence ultimately prevailed. The expedition was thought too great, too hazardous, and too expensive.

The report of the committee was against it, and the report was approved by the house of representatives. The plan now appeared to be entirely abandoned; but notwithstanding the se-

* Belk. Hutch.

crecy that had been attempted, the subject which had so seriously engaged the attention of the legislature became known to the public, and the people at large took a deep interest in it.* Petitions were set on foot, which were signed by great numbers, especially in Boston, Salem, and Marblehead, praying the general court to reconsider their vote, and to adopt the proposition of the governor. The motives for the measure were stated in the petition. The most important of them was, to save the fisheries from ruin.

The consideration of the subject was resumed; and, after long and temperate deliberation, the vote in favour of the enterprise was carried by a single voice, and that in the absence of several members known to be against it.

The expedition being resolved on, all parties united, and manifested equal zeal in their wishes and endeavours for its success. An embargo was laid on every harbour in the province, and mes-

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* It is said that the secret was kept, till an honest member, who performed the family devotion at his lodgings, inadvertently discovered it, by praying for the divine blessing on the attempt.—Hutch.

sengers

sengers were immediately dispatched to the different governments as far south as Pennsylvania, soliciting them to adopt the same measure, and also to join in the expedition. Only the New England colonies consented to furnish their aids.

No military character of note was then in New England. In choosing a commander in chief, experience, or skill, might in vain have been searched for; and therefore, that degree of personal influence which might increase the popularity of the expedition, and promote enlistments, was considered, if united with fidelity and courage, as the most essential qualification in the individual to whom this high trust should be confided. Colonel Pepperel, a merchant, who possessed also a large landed estate, with very considerable weight of character throughout Massachussetts, was selected for the purpose.

All ranks and conditions of men combined to facilitate the preparations for the enterprise, and those circumstances which were beyond human control also concurred to favour the general wish.

The governors of Massachussetts and New Hampshire, whose orders forbade their assent to a further emission of bills of credit, departed from their instructions in order to serve this favourite

project; the people submitted to impressments of their property, and the winter was so uncommonly mild as to admit of a continued prosecution of the labour necessary to get in readiness for the expedition.

The troops of Massachussetts, consisting of three thousand two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of commissioned officers, embarked on the 24th of March, and arrived at Canseau on the 4th of April, where they found the quota from New Hampshire, amounting to three hundred and four men, which had reached the place of rendezvous four days before them. The troops of Connecticut, amounting to five hundred and sixteen, joined them on the 25th, but those expected from Rhode Island did not arrive till Louisbourg had surrendered.

The day before the armament sailed from Massachussetts, an express boat, which had been dispatched to Commodore Warren to solicit his assistance, returned with the unpleasant intelligence of his declining to furnish the aid required. This damped, but could not arrest the expedition; and, very fortunately for its success, the orders from England reached him soon afterwards, on the receipt of which he immediately detached a part of his fleet, which, to the no small joy of the army, reached Canseau on the 23d of April. On the same

same day the commodore himself, who had quickly followed the detachment, and who had been informed at sea that the armament had sailed for Canseau, arrived in the Superb, of 60 guns; and several fortunate incidents brought together a formidable fleet in the course of the siege. After a consultation between the commanding officers of the land and naval forces, the fleet cruised off Louisbourg, and the troops embarked for Chapeau Rouge Bay. The orders of Governor Shirley to Pepperel had directed him to arrive at this place of destination early in the night, and immediately to attempt to take Louisbourg by surprise. Fortunately the wind fell short, so that he reached the bay of Chapeau Rouge in the morning instead of evening, and being now in view of the town, the idea of taking it by surprise was necessarily abandoned.* The landing was effected, after repulsing with

* In the undertaking and prosecuting an enterprise so novel to the people of New England, it is amazing to see how many projects were invented; what a variety of advice was given from all quarters; and what romantic expectations were formed by advisers and adventurers. During the enlistments, one of the officers was heard to say, with great sobriety, that he intended to carry with him three shirts, one

with some loss a detachment of one hundred and fifty men sent to oppose them; and, in the course of

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of which should be ruffled, because he expected the general would give him the command of the city when it should be taken. An ingenious and benevolent clergyman presented to the general a plan for the encampment of the army, the opening of trenches, and the placing of batteries before the city. To prevent danger to the troops from subterraneous mines, he proposed that two confidential persons, attended by a guard, should, during the night, approach the walls; that one should with a beetle strike the ground, while the other should lay his ear to it, and observe whether the sound was hollow, and that a mark should be set on all places suspected. Another gentleman, of equal ingenuity, sent the general a model of a flying bridge, to be used in scaling the walls of Louisbourg. It was so light that twenty men could carry it on their shoulders to the walls, and raise it in one minute. The apparatus for raising it consisted of four blocks, and two hundred fathoms of rope. It was to be floored with boards wide enough for eight men to march abreast; and, to prevent danger from the enemy's fire, it might be covered with raw hides. The bridge, it was said, might be erected against any part of the wall, even where no breach had been made; and it was supposed that one thousand

of the night, a body of about four hundred men, under Vaughan, marched round to the north-east part

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sand men might pass over it in four minutes. But the most extraordinary project of all was Shirley's scheme for taking the city by surprise, in the first night after the arrival of the troops, and before any British naval force could possibly come to their assistance. It is thus delineated in a confidential letter which he wrote to Governor Wentworth (of New Hampshire), wherein he urged him to send the New Hampshire troops to Boston to proceed thence with the fleet of transports. "The success of our scheme for surprising Louisbourg will entirely depend on the execution of the first night after the arrival of our forces. For this purpose it is necessary that the whole fleet should make Chapeau Rouge Point just at the shutting in of the day, when they cannot easily be discovered, and from thence push into the bay, so as to have all the men landed before midnight (the landing of whom, it is computed by Capt. Durell and Mr. Bartide, will take up three hours at least); after which the forming of the four several corps to be employed in attempting to scale the walls of Louisbourg, near the east gate fronting the sea, and the west gate fronting the harbour, to cover the retreat of the two before mentioned in case of a repulse; and to attack the grand battery (which attack must be ma le

part of the harbour, where they set fire to a number of warehouses, containing a quantity of spirituous

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at the same time with the two other attacks), will take up two hours more at least. After these four bodies are formed, their march to their respective posts, from whence they make their attacks, and serve as a cover to the retreat, will take up another two hours; which, supposing the transports to arrive in Chapeau Rouge Bay at nine o'clock in the evening, and not before, as it will be necessary for them to do, in order to land, and march under cover of the night, will bring them to four in the morning, being day-break, before they begin the attack, which will be full late for them to begin. Your excellency will from hence perceive how critical an affair the time of the fleet's arrival in Chapeau Rouge Bay is, and how necessary it is to the success of our principal scheme, that the fleet should arrive there in a body at that precise hour."

It is easy to conceive that this plan was contrived by a person totally unskilled in the arts of navigation and of war. The coast of Cape Breton was dangerous and inhospitable, the season of the year rough and tempestuous, and the air a continual fog; yet, a fleet of one hundred vessels, after sailing near two hundred leagues (for by this plan they were not to stop), must make a certain point of land at a precise hour,

and

tuous liquors and naval stores. The thick smoke produced by the conflagration was driven by the wind

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and enter an unknown bay in an evening. The troops were to land in the dark, amidst a violent surf on a rocky shore, to march through a thicket and bog three miles to the city, and some of them a mile beyond it, to the royal battery. Men who had never been in action were to perform services which the most experienced veterans would contemplate with dread; to pull down pickets with grappling irons, and scale the walls of a regular fortification with ladders, which were afterwards found to be too short by ten feet; and this in the space of twelve hours from their first making the land, and nine hours from their debarkation. This part of the plan was very prudently concealed from the troops.

The instructions which Pepperel received from Shirley conformed to the plan which he had communicated to Wentworth, but were much more particular and circumstantial. He was ordered to "proceed to Canseau, there to build a blockhouse and battery, and leave two companies in garrison, and to deposit the stores which might not immediately be wanted for the army. Thence he was to send a detachment to the village of St. Peter's, on the island of Cape Breton, and destroy it: he was to prevent any intelligence that might be carried to Louisbourg; and for this purpose the armed

vessels

wind into the grand battery, which so alarmed the garrison, who were rendered thereby totally unable to distinguish objects, though at a very small

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vessels were to cruize before the harbour. The whole fleet was to sail from Canseau in such time as to arrive in Chapeau Rouge Bay about nine o'clock in the evening. The troops were to land in four divisions, and proceed to the assault before morning. If the plan for the surprise should fail, he had particular directions where and how to land, march, encamp, attack, and defend; to hold councils and keep records; and to send intelligence to Boston by certain vessels retained for the purpose, which vessels were to stop at Castle William, and there receive the governor's orders. Several other vessels were appointed to cruise between Canseau and the camp, to convey orders, transport stores, and *catch* FISH for the army." To close these instructions, after the most minute detail of duty, the general was finally left to act on any unforeseen emergency according to his discretion; which, in the opinion of military gentlemen, is accounted the most rational part of the whole.

Such was the plan for the reduction of a regular constructed fortress; drawn by a lawyer, to be executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of husbandmen and mechanics, animated indeed by ardent patriotism, but destitute of professional skill and experience.—Belknap.

distance,

distance, that, expecting the whole English force upon them, they abandoned the fort, and fled into the town. The next morning, as Vaughan was returning to camp with thirteen men only, he crept up the hill which overlooked the battery, and observing that the chimneys of the barracks were without smoke, and the staff without a flag, hired a Cape Cod Indian with a bottle of rum to crawl in at an embrasure and open the gate. This small party entered, and, although the French were then landing, in order to regain possession of the battery, they defended it till a reinforcement arrived to their support. For fourteen nights successively the troops were employed in drawing cannon from the landing-place to the encampment, a distance of near two miles, through a deep morass. The men, with straps over their shoulders, sinking to their knees in mud, performed labour impracticable for oxen. This could only be done in the night, and of a foggy day; the route lying within plain view and random shot of the walls of the town. They were much disappointed and chagrined when they discovered that these services, deemed by them so meritorious, were not more distinctly acknowledged in the accounts of the expedition which were sent to England, and afterwards published.

The army being totally unacquainted with the art

art of conducting sieges, made their approaches very irregularly and in the night; and when *zig-zags* and *epaulments* were spoken of, they only made themselves merry with the terms, and proceeded in their own way, making advances in the night in a straight line. Some loss was sustained on this account, which a very moderate degree of skill would have enabled them to avoid.

While these approaches were making by land, the ships of war continued cruising off the harbour, where they fell in with and captured the Vigilant, a French man of war of 64 guns, having on board a reinforcement of 560 men, with a large quantity of stores for the garrison. Soon after this, an unsuccessful, and perhaps a rash attempt was made on the island battery by four hundred men, sixty of whom were killed, and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners. All the prisoners, as if by previous concert, informed the French commander that the besieging army was much more numerous than it really was, and, by doing so, probably contributed to the surrender of the place. The unevenness of the ground, and the dispersed state of the troops, favoured this deception. The provincial army indeed presented a formidable front, but in the rear all was frolic and confusion; and if the governor would have ventured to make some vigorous sallies, he would have

have been opposed by courage without discipline, and would certainly have done much execution, and probably have defeated the enterprise. But the garrison had been so mutinous before the siege, that the officers could not trust the men to make a sortie, lest they should desert.

The Vigilant had been anxiously expected by the French, and it was thought by the besiegers that the news of her capture, if properly communicated, would have a good effect. The mode of doing this was the subject of deliberation, and at length the following expedient was devised: some prisoners taken in the island were treated with cruelty; and this circumstance was communicated to the Marquis de la Maisonforte, the captain of the Vigilant, who was requested to go on board all the ships in the bay in which French prisoners were confined, and observe the condition in which they were kept. He was satisfied with the treatment they received, and was thereupon requested to give this information to the governor of Louisbourg, and to request the like favour to the English prisoners. The humane marquis readily consented, and his letter was sent the next day, by a flag intrusted to Captain M'Donald, who, by affecting, in the presence of the governor and principal officers, to be entirely ignorant of the French language, discovered that they had not before received

ceived intelligence of the capture of the Vigilant, and that the information excited a considerable degree of perturbation. This event, with the erection of some works on the high cliff at the light-house, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Gridley, by which the island battery was much annoyed, and the preparations evidently making for a general assault, determined Duchambon, the governor of Louisbourg, to surrender, and accordingly, in a few days, he capitulated.

Upon entering the fortress, and viewing its strength and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the stoutest hearts were appalled, and the impracticability of carrying it by assault was evident to all.

No sooner was the city taken, and the army under shelter, than the weather, which, excepting eight or nine days after the first landing of the troops, had, during the siege, been remarkably dry for that climate, changed for the worse, and an incessant rain for ten days succeeded. Had the surrender been postponed till this state of the weather happened, the troops, who had already begun to experience the diseases which invariably afflict new levies exposed to hard service, and who were covered only by their tents, would probably have perished in great numbers. But being admitted into the town, where their accommodations were comfortable, the loss by sickness was inconsiderable.

Reinforcements of men, and supplies of stores and provisions, arriving, it was determined, in a council of war, to maintain the place, and to repair the breaches which had been made in the walls. Meanwhile the French flag continued to fly on the ramparts, the view of which decoyed many rich prizes into the harbour.

The joy excited throughout the British colonies by the success of the expedition against Louisbourg was unbounded. Even those who had refused to participate its hazards and expense were not insensible to its advantages, nor to the *eclat* it gave to the American arms. In England, as well as in France, it was entirely unexpected; and, although some disposition was manifested to attribute the merit of the conquest to the navy, Colonel Pepperel received, with the title of baronet, the more substantial reward of a regiment on the British establishment, to be raised in America; and the same mark of royal favour was bestowed on Governor Shirley. Reimbursements too were made by parliament for the expenses of the expedition, by giving the colonies, which had made advances of money towards it, a credit at the British treasury to the amount advanced. It was the only decisive advantage obtained by England over France during this whole war.

The capture of Louisbourg most probably preserved

served Nova Scotia. Duvivier, who had embarked for France in 1744, to solicit an armament for the conquest of that province, sailed with seven ships of war, and some troops, in July 1754. He was ordered to stop at Louisbourg, and to proceed from thence in the execution of his plan.

Hearing at sea of the fall of that place, and of the British squadron stationed there, the expedition against Nova Scotia was relinquished, and he returned to Europe.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XI.

Great Plans of the Belligerent Powers—Misfortunes of the armament under the Duke D'Anville—The French fleet is dispersed by a storm—Expedition against Nova Scotia—Treaty of Aix la Chapelle—Paper money of Massachussetts redeemed—Revival of the contests between the French and English colonies respecting boundaries—Statement of the discovery of the Mississippi by the French—Scheme for connecting Louisiana with Canada—Relative strength and advantages of the French and English colonies—Defeat at the Little Meadows—Convention at Albany—Plan of Union agreed to in convention—Objected to, both in Great Britain and America.

VERY important operations for the ensuing campaign (1745), in America were planned by the belligerent powers. France contemplated not only the recovery of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, but the total devastation of the sea coast, if not the entire conquest of the country of New England.

Britain, on her part, calculated on the reduction of Canada, and the entire expulsion of the French from the American continent.

Shirley, whose active and sanguine mind seems to have been much more capable of extending to the most hazardous projects than of maturing them, repaired to Louisburg after its surrender, where he held a consultation with Warren and Pepperel, on the favourite subject of future and more extensive operations against the neighbouring possessions of the French. From thence he wrote pressingly to the British ministry to obtain their countenance to his plans, and strong reinforcements of men and ships to execute them. His solicitations, enforced by the brilliant success at Louisburg, had such weight that, in the following spring (1746), the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state, addressed a circular letter to the governors of the British colonies, as far south as Virginia, requiring them to raise as many men as they could spare, and form them into companies of one hundred each, to be held in readiness to act according to the orders that should be afterwards received. These orders were given in consequence of the following plan of operations, which had been digested in the British cabinet. It was proposed to detach a squadron of ships of war, having on board a body of land forces commanded

commanded by Sir John St. Clair, who should, as early as the season would admit of action, join at Louisburg the troops to be raised in New England; from thence they were to proceed up the St. Lawrence against Quebec. The troops from New York and the more southern provinces were to be collected at Albany, and to march from thence against Crown Point and Montreal.

This plan, so far as it depended on the colonies, was executed with promptness and alacrity. The men were raised, and waited with impatience for employment; but neither general, troops, nor orders, arrived from England. The fleet, said to have been destined for this service, sailed seven times from Spithead, and as often returned.

After the lateness of the season had induced the military commanders in America to despair of receiving the stipulated forces from England, it was determined, in a council held at Boston, by Shirley, Pepperel, and Warren, to assemble a body of provincials at Albany, and make an attempt on Crown Point.

While employed in the necessary preparations for the execution of this plan, accounts were received of the danger which threatened Annapolis, from a body of French and Indians at Minas, who would be joined, it was feared, by

the Acadians. Orders were issued for the troops of Massachussetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to embark for Nova Scotia, and drive the enemy out of that province. Before these orders could be executed, intelligence was received, which, it was supposed, would furnish them with sufficient employment at home, and which excited throughout the country the most serious alarm.

A large fleet and army, under the command of the duke d'Anville, was reported to have arrived in Nova Scotia. The views of conquest, which had been formed by the northern colonies, were now converted into fears for their own safety. To the troops which had been raised to act against Canada, the militia were added, and the fortified places of the country were enlarged and repaired. For six weeks, continual apprehensions of the enemy were entertained; and the most vigorous measures for their reception were taken. From this state of anxious solicitude the colonies were at length relieved, by information, received from some prisoners set at liberty by the French, of the extreme distress of the fleet they had so much dreaded.

This formidable armament consisted of near forty ships of war, of which seven were of the line, of two artillery ships, and of fifty-six transports laden with provisions and military

 stores,

stores, carrying three thousand five hundred land forces, and forty thousand stand of small arms for the use of the Canadians and Indians in the French interest, who were expected to co-operate with the regulars. This fleet sailed in June, but in its passage was attacked by such furious and repeated storms that many of the ships were wrecked, and others dispersed. In addition to this, the troops on board those vessels, which reached their place of destination, laboured under a dreadful mortality, which carried them off in great numbers. While lying in Chebucto, under those circumstances, an express vessel, which had been dispatched by Governor Shirley to Admiral Townshend at Louisburg, with a letter stating his expectation that a British fleet would follow that of France to America, was intercepted by a cruiser, and brought in to the French admiral. These dispatches were opened in a council of war, in which a considerable division respecting their future conduct took place. This circumstance, added to the calamities already sustained, so affected the commander in chief, that he suddenly died—the French say of an apoplexy—the English, by his own hand. The vice-admiral ran himself through the body, and the command devolved on Monsieur le Jonquiere, go-

vernor of Canada, who had been declared chef d'escadre after the fleet sailed.

The original design of invading New England was now relinquished, but it was resolved to make an attempt on Annapolis. For this purpose the fleet sailed from Chebucto, but was overtaken off Cape Sable by a violent tempest, which scattered the vessels composing it; after which, those ships which had escaped being wrecked ventured singly to France.

"Never," says Mr. Belknap, "was the hand of divine Providence more visible than on this occasion. Never was a disappointment more severe on the part of the enemy; nor a deliverance more complete, without human help, in favour of this country."

The project of dislodging the French and Indians, who had invaded Nova Scotia from Canada, and who were yet in the peninsula, was now resumed. Governor Shirley detached on this service a part of the troops of Massachussetts, and pressed the governors of Rhode Island and New Hampshire to co-operate with him. The quotas furnished by these colonies were prevented, by misfortune and accident, from joining that of Massachussetts, which was, in consequence of this circumstance, inferior to the enemy in point of number. The Indians and

French

French were also furnished with snow shoes, an advantage which enabled them to make very rapid marches, and to surprise the English in a snow storm at Minas, who, after an obstinate resistance, in which they lost upwards of one hundred men, were compelled to capitulate, and to engage not to bear arms against the French in Nova Scotia for one year. De Ramsay, who commanded the expedition, returned soon afterwards to Canada.

The ardent mind of Shirley had been so intently fixed on the expedition to Crown Point, that the severity of the winter formed, in his opinion, no objection to its being prosecuted. He had the address to prevail on the assembly of Massachussetts to concur in the plan; and the governor of New York was also induced to join in it. The more sober discretion of the legislature of Connecticut, who refused to furnish their quota of troops till the spring, prevented this rash attempt. No aids of any sort arriving from England, the troops continued in a state of inactivity till the ensuing autumn, when they were paid in the same manner with those on the British establishment, and then disbanded.

No further material transactions took place in America during the war. Preliminary articles of peace were signed the 30th of April, 1748, but hostilities still continued to be carried on in

Europe and on the ocean till the execution of the definitive treaty.

By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, it was stipulated that all conquests made during the war should be restored. In consequence of this article, the colonists had the mortification to see the French repossess themselves of Cape Breton. The heavy expences which had been incurred by the people of New England, and especially by those of Massachussetts, in consequence of a situation which peculiarly exposed them to French and Indian hostility, had occasioned large emissions of paper money and an unavoidable depreciation. Instead of availing themselves of the return of peace, to discharge the debts contracted during war, a strong disposition was continually manifested to satisfy every demand on the public treasury, by further emissions of bills of credit redeemable at future distant periods. Every inconvenience under which commerce was supposed to labour, every difficulty encountered in the interior economy of the province, was attributed to a scarcity of money; and this was to be removed, not by increased industry, but by putting an additional sum in circulation. It was soon perceived, by the rate of exchange, and the price of all commodities, that, however the quantity of the circulating medium might be augmented, its aggregate

gregate value could not be arbitrarily increased; and that the effect of such a depreciating currency must necessarily be to discourage the payment of debts, by holding out the hope of discharging contracts with less than the sum actually contracted for; and to substitute a species of cunning and speculation for honest and regular industry. Yet the majority had continued in favour of this demoralizing system, and this majority had probably been increased by the efforts of the crown to discountenance it. The depreciation had now reached eleven for one, and the evil was almost deemed incurable, when the fortunate circumstance of a reimbursement in specie, made by the British parliament for the moneys expended by the colonies in the Louisburg and Canada expeditions, suggested to Mr. Hutchinson, then speaker of the house of representatives in Massachussetts, the idea of immediately redeeming, with the silver received from the mother country, all the paper money in circulation at its then nominal value.

This scheme, at first deemed Utopian, was opposed by many well meaning men, who feared that, by calling in at once the whole circulating currency of the country, and replacing it with a quantity so much less in its nominal amount, the trade of the province, as well as its domestic

industry

industry, might receive a shock, from which it would be difficult to recover; and who thought too that, as the depreciation had been gradual, it was just that the appreciation should be gradual likewise.

With infinite difficulty the measure was at length carried, (1749) and the bills of credit, then in circulation, redeemed at fifty shillings the ounce. The evils which had been apprehended were soon found to have been altogether imaginary. Specie immediately took the place of paper. Trade, so far from sustaining a shock, flourished more than before this change in the domestic economy of the colony; and the commerce of Massachussetts immediately received an impulse greater than was given to that of her neighbours, who retained their paper medium.

The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, made entirely on the principle of the *status ante bellum*, did not remove the controversies previously existing between the colonies of England and France concerning their boundaries. These controversies, originating in the manner in which the country had been settled, and deemed at first of small consequence, were now assuming a serious aspect.

America was beginning to attract a degree of attention which had not heretofore been bestowed

stowed on her; and as her importance, in both a commercial and military point of view, increased, the question concerning limits became important also.

In settling this continent, the European powers estimated at nothing the right of the natives. Among themselves, it was recognised, as a ruling principle, that those who first discovered and took possession of any particular territory became its rightful proprietors. But, as only a small part of territory could then be reduced to actual occupation, the extent of country, thus acquired by discovery and occupancy, was not well ascertained; nor was it at first very material. Contests, concerning prior discovery and extent of possession, arose among all the first settlers; but those with Sweden and Holland were terminated by the early conquest which the English made of the territories claimed by those nations. Her conflicting claims, however, with France and Spain, remained unadjusted.

On the south, Spain had pretensions to the whole province of Georgia, while England had granted to the Carolina proprietors the country as far as the river St. Matheo, in Florida.

On the north, the right of France to Canada was undisputed; but the country between the St. Lawrence and New England had been claimed

ed by both nations, and granted by both. The first settlement appears to have been made by the French, but its principal town, called Port Royal, or Annapolis, had been repeatedly taken by the English; and, by the treaty of Utrecht, the whole province, by the name of Nova Scotia, or Acadiè, according to its ancient boundaries, was finally ceded to them.

But the boundaries of Nova Scotia or Acadiè had never been ascertained. Though the treaty of Utrecht had provided that commissaries should be appointed by the two crowns to adjust the limits of their respective colonies, the adjustment had never been made. France claimed to the Kennebec, and insisted "that only the peninsula which is formed by the bay of Fundy, the Atlantic ocean, and the gulf of St. Lawrence, was included in the cession of Nova Scotia, or Acadiè, according to its ancient limits." England, on the other hand, claimed all the country on the main land south of the river St. Lawrence.

Commissioners to settle these differences were again appointed, in consequence of the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, who maintained the rights of their respective sovereigns with great ability and much laborious research; but their zeal produced a degree of asperity by no means favourable to accommodation.

While

While this contest for the cold and uninviting regions of Nova Scotia was carried on with equal acrimony and talents, a richer and more extensive field of controversy was preparing in the south and west.

So early as the year 1660, the French in Canada were informed by the Indians that to the west of that colony there was a great river, flowing neither to the north nor to the east. It was very naturally concluded that it must empty itself either in the gulf of Mexico or the South Sea; and the care of ascertaining the fact was committed, in 1673, to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, and to the jesuit Marquette. These men set out from Fort Michigan, and proceeded up the river of the Foxes almost to its source, from whence they travelled westward to the Ouisconsing, which they pursued to its confluence with the Mississippi. They sailed down this river to about the 33d degree of north latitude, and from thence returned by land through the country of the Illinois to Canada.

The mouth of the Mississippi was afterwards discovered by La Salle, a bold and enterprising Norman, who immediately after his return to Quebec, set out for France, in the hope of inducing the court of Versailles to patronize a scheme for proceeding by sea to the mouth of that river, and settling a colony on its banks.

He succeeded in his application to the French cabinet,

cabinet, and sailed for the gulf of Mexico with four small vessels and a few colonists; but steering too far westward, he arrived in the bay of St. Bernard, about one hundred leagues from the mouth of the river he intended to have entered. In consequence of a quarrel between him and Beaujieu, who commanded a fleet, the men were landed at this place. La Salle was soon afterwards assassinated, and the colonists murdered or dispersed by the Spaniards and the Indians.

Several other attempts were made by the French to settle the country; but, by some unaccountable fatality, instead of seating themselves on the fertile borders of the Mississippi, they continually landed about the barren sands of Biloxi, and the bay of Mobile. It was not till about the year 1722 that the miserable remnant of those who had been carried thither at various times were transported to New Orleans; nor, till about the year 1731 that the colony began to flourish. It had received the name of Louisiana, and soon extended itself by detached settlements up the Mississippi and its waters, towards the great lakes. As it progressed towards the north, the vast and interesting plan was formed of connecting it with Canada by a chain of forts.

The fine climate and fertile country of Upper Louisiana, its capacity to produce and maintain

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an immense population, rendered it an object which promised complete gratification to the views of France; while the extent given to it by that nation excited the most serious alarm among the colonies of Britain.

The English had originally taken possession of the sea coast, but the charters granted by the crown to the first adventurers extended from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their settlements had regularly encreased westward; and it had been supposed that their title to the country in that direction could only be controverted by the Indians. The settlements of the French, stretching from north to south, necessarily interfered with those of the English, extending from east to west. Their plan, if executed, would completely have environed the English. Canada and Louisiana united would, as has been very aptly said, have formed a bow, of which the English colonies would have constituted the string.

While Great Britain claimed an indefinite extent to the west, in consequence of her possession of the sea coast, and as appertaining thereto, France insisted on confining her to the eastern side of the Apalachian, or Alleghany mountains, and claimed the whole country, whose waters run into the Mississippi, in virtue of her right, as the first discoverer of that river. The delightful region between the summit of those mountains

mountains and the Mississippi was the object for which those two powerful nations contended; and it soon became apparent that the sword alone could decide the contest.

The white population of the English colonies was supposed to amount to upwards of one million of souls, while that of the French was not computed to exceed fifty-two thousand *.

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* The following estimate is taken from the History of the British Empire in North America, and is there said to be an authentic account from the militia rolls, poll taxes, bills of mortality, returns from governors, and other authorities.

The Colonies of	Inhabitants.
Halifax and Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia	5,000
New Hampshire	30,000
Massachussetts Bay	220,000
Rhode Island and Providence	35,000
Connecticut	100,000
New York	100,000
The Jerseys	60,000
Pennsylvania (then including Delaware)	250,000
Maryland	85,000
Virginia	85,000
North Carolina	45,000
South Carolina	30,000
Georgia	6,000
Total	1,051,000

The white inhabitants of the French colonies were thus estimated:

Canada	45,000
Louisiana	7,000
Total	52,000

This

This disparity of numbers did not intimidate the governor of New France, under which title were included both Canada and Louisiana; nor deter him from proceeding in the execution of a plan he had embraced with ardour. Advantages were possessed by the French, which, he persuaded himself, would counterbalance the superior numbers of the English. The whole power of France in America was united under one governor, who could give it such direction as his judgment should dictate. The genius of the people and of the government was military, and they could very readily be called out when their service in the field should be required. Great reliance too was placed on the Indians. The savages, with the exception of the Six Nations, were generally attached to them: they were well trained to war, and the efficiency of their aid had been already experienced. To these advantages was added a perfect knowledge of the country which was to become the theatre of action.

The British colonies, on the other hand, were divided into distinct governments, unaccustomed, except those of New England, to act in concert; were jealous of the powers of the crown; and were spread over a very large extent of territory, the soil of which, in all the middle colonies, was cultivated by men whose peace had

been of late years seldom disturbed, and who were consequently almost entirely unused to arms.

The governors of Canada, who were generally military men, had, for several preceding years, judiciously selected and fortified such situations as would give their nation most influence with the Indians, and best facilitate incursions into the northern provinces. The command of Lake Champlain had been acquired by erecting a strong fort at Crown Point; and a connected chain of posts was maintained from Quebec up the St. Lawrence and along the great lakes. It was now intended to unite these posts with the Mississippi, by taking positions which should enable them to circumscribe, and at the same time to annoy the frontier settlements of the English.

The execution of this plan was probably in some degree accelerated by an act of the British government (1750). The year after the conclusion of the war, several very influential persons, both in England and Virginia, who associated under the name of the Ohio Company, obtained from the crown a grant for 600,000 acres of land lying in the country, claimed by both nations. Several opulent merchants, as well as noblemen and gentlemen, being members of this company, its objects were commercial, as well as terri[illegible]

measures were immediately taken to derive all the advantages expected from their grant, in both these respects, by establishing houses for carrying on their trade with the Indians, and engaging persons to survey the country, for the purpose of enabling them to complete their quantity out of the most valuable and convenient lands.

The governor of Canada, who obtained early intelligence of this intrusion, as he deemed it, into the dominions of his Christian Majesty, wrote immediately to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, informing them that the English traders had encroached on the French territories by trading with their Indians, and warning them that, if they did not desist, he should be under the necessity of seizing them wherever they should be found. At the same time, the jealousy of the Indians was excited, and fears instilled into them, that the English were about to deprive them of their country. This jealousy was kept up by the traders of Pennsylvania, who were apprehensive that the Ohio company would transfer to the Potowmac, by the way of Will's Creek, a gainful traffic, theretofore confined in a great degree to their colony; and who, on that account, communicated to the Indians the object for which the Ohio was visited by the English—an object

which the agents of the company had sought carefully to conceal, by making their survey as secretly as possible.

The threat of the governor of Canada having been entirely disregarded, he put it in execution by seizing the British traders among the Twightwees, and carrying them as prisoners to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, where a strong fort was then erecting.

The attempt of the English to prosecute a trade with the Indians could not be the real motive for this act of violence. Neither nation pretended to an exclusive right to this trade, and the treaty of Utrecht had expressly stipulated for its freedom. But the advances making by the English towards a settlement of the country threatened to break in upon the vast and magnificent plans of France, and was consequently to be prevented at every hazard. Not only, therefore, were the English traders seized, but a communication was opened from the fort at Presque Isle down French Creek, and the Alleghany river, to the Ohio; which was kept up by detachments of troops posted at proper distances from each other, and secured by works which would cover them from an attack made only with small arms.

This country having been actually granted as part of the territory of Virginia to the Ohio company,

company, who were commencing its settlements, and who complained loudly of these aggressions, Dinwiddie, the lieutenant-governor of that province, considering this encroachment as an invasion of a colony the interests of which were committed to him, laid the subject before the assembly, (1753) and dispatched MAJOR WASHINGTON, the gentleman who afterwards led his countrymen to independence and to empire, and of whom high expectations were already formed, with a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, requiring him to withdraw from the dominions of his Britannic Majesty.

This letter was delivered at a fort on the river la Beuf, the western branch of French Creek, to Mons. Leguarduer de St. Pierre, the commandant on the Ohio, who replied that he had taken possession of the country by the directions of his general, then in Canada, to whom he would transmit the letter of the governor, and whose orders he should implicitly obey.

The Ohio company having, at that time, considerable influence in Virginia, preparations were immediately made in that province to assert the rights of the British crown, and a regiment was raised for the protection of the frontiers. Major Washington, on whom the command of this regiment soon devolved by the death of the

colonel first appointed, had advanced, very early in the spring, into the country which was to be contended for, at the head of a small detachment of the Virginia regiment. He fell in with, and defeated a part of the enemy under a Captain Dijonville, who were approaching him in a manner indicating hostile designs. On being joined by the residue of his regiment, he made great exertions to preoccupy the post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; to which place some persons had been already sent by the Ohio company, for the purpose of erecting a stockade fort, but, on his route thither, he was met by a much superior body of French and Indians, who attacked him in a small stockade, hastily erected at the Little Meadows, and compelled him, after a very gallant defence, to capitulate. The enemy had already taken possession of the ground to which Washington was proceeding, and had driven from thence the militia and workmen sent thither by the Ohio company, and had erected thereon a strong fortification called Fort du Quêsne.

Perceiving war to be inevitable, and aware of the advantages which would result from union, and from securing the friendship of the Six Nations, the Earl of Holdernesse, secretary of state, had written to the governors of the respective

pective colonies, ordering them to repel force by force, and to take effectual measures to dislodge the French from their posts on the Ohio. He also recommended to them union, for their mutual protection and defence.

A convention of delegates from the different colonies had, by direction of the commissioners for the plantations, been appointed to meet at Albany, to hold a conference with the Six Nations on the subject of French encroachments, and to secure their friendship in the approaching war. Availing himself of this circumstance, Governor Shirley had recommended to the several governors to instruct their commissioners on the subject of union. Ample powers for this object were given to the delegates from Massachussetts, and those of Maryland were instructed to observe what others should propose respecting it. But no direct authority for concerting any system for calling out and employing the strength of the colonies was given by any other of the governments.

The congress, consisting of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachussetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, with the lieutenant-governor and council of New York, met at the place appointed; and, having endeavoured to secure the interests of the Six Nations, by large presents, a committee, consisting

sisting of one member from each colony, was directed to draw and report a plan of union.

The essential principles the plan* reported, and afterwards agreed to on the 4th of July, were, that application be made for an act of parliament to form a grand council, to consist of delegates from the several legislatures, and a president-general, to be appointed by the crown, with a negative voice. This council was to enact

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* The plan of the union was as follows: viz.

It is proposed that humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies (Massachussetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) within; and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars, wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows:

President-General and Grand Council.

That the said general government be administered by a president-general, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, and in their respective assemblies.

Election of Members.

That within months after passing such act the houses of representatives that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and

enact laws of general import, to apportion the quotas of men and money to be raised by each colony, determine the building of forts, regulate the

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and shall choose members for the grand council in the following proportion; that is to say,

Massachussetts Bay	7
New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	5
Rhode Island	2
New York	4
New Jersey	3
Pennsylvania	6
Maryland	4
Virginia	7
North Carolina	4
South Carolina	4
	48

Place of First Meeting.

Who shall meet, for the first time, at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the president-general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

New Elections.

That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and, on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

Proportion of the Members after the First Three Years.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be

the operations of armies, and concert all measures for the common protection and safety.

The delegates from Connecticut alone dissented

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be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two).

Meetings of the Grand Council and Call.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president-general, on any emergency, he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

Continuance.

That the grand council have power to choose their speaker and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent, or the special command of the crown.

Members' Attendance.

That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their services ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

Assent of President-General, and his Duty.

That the assent of the president-general be requisite to all acts of the grand council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

Power

sented from this plan. Their sole objection to it was founded on the powers of the president-general,

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Power of President-General and Grand Council.—Treaties of Peace, and War.

That the president-general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties in which the general interests of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with the Indian nations.

Indian Trade.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

Indian Purchases.

That they make all purchases from the Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

New Settlements.

That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown, for the use of the general treasury.

Laws to govern them.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

Raise soldiers, and equip Vessels, &c.

That they raise and pay soldiers, build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony without the consent of the legislature.

Power.

general, who, being an officer appointed by the crown, was deemed by that cautious people to be

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Power to make Laws, lay Duties, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury than loading industry with unnecessary burden.

General Treasurer, and particular Treasurer.

That they may appoint a general treasurer, and particular treasurer, in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments as they find most convenient.

Money, how to issue.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president-general and grand council, except where sums have been appropiated to particular purposes, and the president-general has been previously empowered by an act to draw for such sums.

Accounts.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled, and reported to the several assemblies.

Quorum.

That a quorum of the grand council empowered to act with the president-general do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from the majority of the colonies.

Laws

be invested, by the articles of the union, with an authority dangerous to their welfare*. For a very different reason, the plan was objected to in

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Laws to be transmitted.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant; but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council, for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved, within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

Death of the President-General.

That, in case of the death of the president-general, the speaker of the council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.

Officers, how appointed.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president-general, but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained before they receive their commissions: and all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president-general's approbation before they officiate.

Vacancies, how supplied.

But in case of vacancy, by death or removal of any officer, civil or military, under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens may appoint till the pleasure of the president-general and grand council can be known.

* Minot.

Each

in England also. The colonies had, in several instances, manifested a temper by no means so submissive as was required; and it was apprehended that such an union might be the foundation of a concert of measures, opposing the pretensions of supremacy set up by the mother country.

The plan therefore, notwithstanding the pressure of external danger, did not prevail. It was not supported in America, because it was supposed to place too much power in the hands of the king; and it was rejected in England, because it was supposed to give too much importance to the colonial assemblies, who would be rendered still more formidable by being accustomed to co-operate with each other.

In the place of this confederation it was proposed, by the minister, that the governors, with one or two members of the council of the respective provinces, should assemble to consult

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Each Colony may defend itself on Emergency, &c.

That the particular military, as well as civil establishments, in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that, on sudden emergencies, any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the president-general and grand council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts reasonable.

and

and resolve on measures necessary for the common defence, and should draw on the British treasury for the sums to be expended; which sums should be afterwards raised by a general tax to be imposed, by parliament, on the colonies.

This proposition was entirely subversive of all the opinions which prevailed in America, and the present was deemed an improper time to press it. As no satisfactory plan for calling out the strength of the colonies could be devised, it was determined to carry on the war with British troops, aided by such reinforcements as the several provincial assemblies would voluntarily afford.

CHAPTER XII.

General Braddock arrives in America—Convention of the Governors—Plan for the Campaign resolved on—French expelled from Nova Scotia, and the inhabitants transplanted—Expedition against Fort du Quesne—Battle of Monongahela—Defeat and Death of Braddock—Expedition against Crown Point.—Dieskau defeated—Expedition against Niagara—Frontiers distressed by incursions of the Indians—Meeting of the Governors at New York—Plan for the Campaign of 1756*—Command in America bestowed on Lord Loudoun—Small Pox breaks out in Albany—Campaign closed—Campaign of* 1757 *opened—Admiral Holbourne arrives with a large armament at Halifax, where he is joined by the Earl of Loudoun—Expedition against Louisburg relinquished—Lord Loudoun returns to New York—Fort William-Henry taken—Controversy between Lord Loudoun and the Assembly of Massachussetts.*

THE rich and extensive country between the Alleghany mountain and the Mississippi being claimed both by France and England, each

each treated the endeavours of the other to take possession of it as an invasion of its own dominions, which was to be considered as an act of hostility, and to be repelled by force. Complaints of encroachment therefore were reciprocal, and each charged the other with being the aggressor. The establishment of the post on the Ohio, and the defeat of Colonel Washington at the Little Meadows, were considered by the British government as the commencement of war in America. The conduct observed by the cabinet of Versailles now demonstrated that the subject contended for must be relinquished, or maintained by the sword; and that of London did not hesitate in choosing the latter of these alternatives. The resolution to send a few regiments of British soldiers to America, for the purpose of maintaining the claims of their monarch, was immediately taken; and, very early in the year, (1755) General Braddock embarked at Cork, at the head of a very respectable body of troops destined for this service.

Preparations to reinforce their armies in Canada were, about the same time, making in the ports of France; intelligence of which being received in England, Admiral Boscawen was ordered to the American station, for the purpose of intercepting the French fleet before it

should enter the gulf of St. Lawrence. A very active offensive campaign was now meditated in America. One of the first measures, adopted by General Braddock, was a convention of the several governors for the purpose of settling the plan of military operations. This was held in Virginia, on the 14th of April, where three expeditions were resolved on.

The first, and the most interesting, was against Fort du Quêsne. This was undertaken by General Braddock in person, and the British troops, with such aids as could be drawn from Maryland and Virginia, were to be employed in it. The reduction of this fort, and the entire expulsion of the French from the Ohio and its waters, were anticipated as certain.

The second was designed against Niagara and Fort Frontignac. This was to be conducted by Governor Shirley; and the American regulars, consisting of Pepperel's and Shirley's regiments, constituted the principal force relied on for the reduction of that place.

The third was against Crown Point. This originated entirely with Massachussetts, and was to be executed altogether by colonial troops, raised by the provinces of New England and New York for the particular object. The command of it was given by the governors, who furnished the men for the expedition, to Major-

Major-general William Johnson, then one of the council of New York.

While preparations were making for these several enterprises, an expedition, which had been previously determined on by the government of Massachussetts, was carried on against the posts occupied by the French in Nova Scotia.

It has already been stated that the limits of this province still remained unsettled. The English claim extended to the St. Lawrence, while the French insisted on restricting it to the peninsula of Acadiè. While the commissioners of the two crowns were advancing, in fruitless memorials, the arguments in favour of the claims of their respective sovereigns, the French occupied the country in contest, and took measures for its defence. Against the forts they had constructed for the protection of the territory they claimed south of the St. Lawrence an enterprise was now resolved on. Although the force to be employed was to be drawn almost entirely from Massachussetts, the command of the expedition was conferred on Lieutenant-colonel Monkton, a British officer, in whose military talents more confidence was placed than in those of any provincial.

The troops of Massachussetts, who were enlisted to serve for one year, if required, embarked

at Boston on the 20th of May, together with Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, amounting in the whole to about three thousand men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Winslow, who was a major-general of the militia, and was an officer of great influence in the province. They arrived, on the 28th, in the basin of Annapolis Royal. From thence they sailed, in a fleet of forty-one vessels, to Chiguecto, and anchored about five miles from Fort Lawrence. Here they were joined by about three hundred British troops, with a small train of artillery; and, having landed immediately, marched against Beau Sejour, the principal post held by the French in that country. On reaching the river Mussaguash, contended by the French to the western limit of Nova Scotia, they found the enemy prepared to dispute its passage. A block-house, defended by a few pieces of small cannon, had been constructed on its western bank, and a breastwork had also been thrown up, behind which a few troops were posted. After a short conflict, the passage of the river was forced, with the loss of only one man, and the entrenchments were opened before Beau Sejour. On the 5th day the fort capitulated, and the garrison was conveyed to Louisburg at the expence of the King of Great Britain, having stipulated not to bear arms for six months.

Fort

Fort Gaspereau soon afterwards surrendered on the same terms; and three twenty gun ships, with a snow, appearing in the river of St. John's, the French set fire to their works at that place, and entirely evacuated the country. Thus, in the course of the month of June, with the loss of only three men killed, the English found themselves in complete possession of the whole province of Nova Scotia, according to their own definition of its boundaries. This easy conquest diffused, throughout the northern colonies especially, a very general joy; and, from this first success, the most sanguine anticipations were indulged of the result of the campaign.

Nova Scotia having been originally settled by the French under the name of Acadiè, its inhabitants were chiefly of that nation. When that province was surrendered to the English by the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated for the inhabitants that they should be permitted to hold their lands, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. With this condition they refused to comply, without annexing to it, as a qualification, that they should not be called upon to bear arms in defence of the province. To this they seem to have been induced by a scrupulous sense of the indissoluble nature of their obligation to their ancient

sovereign, and by their invincible attachment to France.

Though this qualification to their oaths of allegiance, which was acceded to by the commanding officer of the British forces, was afterwards disallowed by the crown, yet the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia continued to consider themselves as neutrals. Their love of France however would not permit them to conform their conduct to the character they had assumed. In all the contests between the two nations respecting the possession of their country, the conduct was influenced rather by their wishes than their duty, and about three hundred of them were captured with the garrison of Beau Sejour.

In the obstinate conflict which was commencing, their continuance in Nova Scotia was thought dangerous; and to expel them from the country, leaving them at liberty to choose their place of residence, would be to reinforce the French in Canada. A council was held by the executive of that province, aided by the admirals Boscawen and Morty, for the purpose of deciding on the destinies of these unfortunate people; and the severe policy was adopted, of removing them from their homes, and dispersing them among the other British colonies. This harsh measure was immediately put into execution; and

and the miserable inhabitants of Nova Scotia, banished from their homes, were, in one instant, reduced from ease and contentment to a state of beggary. Their lands and moveables, with the exception of their money and household furniture, were declared to be forfeited to the crown; and to prevent their being able to subsist themselves, should they escape, the country was laid waste, and their houses reduced to ashes *.

As soon as the several governors, who met General Braddock for the purpose of digesting the plan of the campaign, had separated, that officer proceeded from Alexandria to a post at Wills's Creek, since called Fort Cumberland, near the source of the Potowmac, which was at that time the most western post held by the English in Virginia or Maryland; and from whence the army destined against Fort du Quêsne was to commence its march. So great were the difficulties of obtaining waggons, and the necessary supplies for the expedition, that the troops could not be put in motion till the middle of June; and then, the delays occasioned by the necessity of opening a road through an excessively rough country were such, as to produce some apprehension that time would be

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* Minot.

afforded the enemy to collect in great force at Fort Du Quêsne, and thereby put the success of the enterprise into some hazard.

Under the influence of this consideration, it was determined to select twelve hundred men from the different corps, at the head of whom the general should in person advance, as rapidly as possible, to the point of destination. Their baggage was to be carried on horses, and no greater number of waggons was to be attached to them than was necessary for the transportation of the military stores. The residue of the army under the command of Colonel Dunbar, with all the heavy baggage, was to follow in the rear by slow and easy marches.

This disposition being made, Braddock pressed forward to his object, in the confidence that no enemy existed in the country capable of opposing him with effect.

Although divested of every necessary incumbrance, his march was so much retarded by the natural impediments of the country that he did not reach the Monongahela till the 8th of July. The succeeding day he counted on investing Fort du Quêsne, and such a disposition of his forces was made, in the morning, as he supposed best adapted to his situation.

The provincial troops, composing a part of Braddock's army, consisted entirely of independ-

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ent and ranging companies. The regiment commanded by Washington, in 1754, had been improvidently broken into companies at the close of the campaign, and that officer was now with the commander in chief, in the character of an aid. The general was cautioned of the danger to which the character of his enemy and the face of the country exposed him; and was advised to advance his provincial companies in his front, for the purpose of scouring the woods, and discovering any ambuscade which might be formed for him. But he held both his enemy and the provincials in too much contempt to follow this salutary counsel. Three hundred British regulars, among whom were his grenadiers and light infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Gage, composed his van; and he followed at some distance with the artillery and the main body of the army divided into small columns.

Within about seven miles of Fort du Quêsne, immediately after crossing the Monongahela, the second time, in an open wood, thick set with high grass, as he was pressing forward, entirely unapprehensive of danger, his front was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by an invisible enemy.

The van was thrown into some confusion, but the general having ordered up the main body, which

which was formed three deep, and the commanding officer of the enemy having fallen, the attack was suspended for a short time, and the assailants were supposed to be dispersed. This momentary delusion, however, was soon dissipated. The attack was renewed with increased fury; the van fell back on the main body, and the whole army was thrown into utter confusion.

The general, who possessed personal courage in a very eminent degree, but who was without experience in that species of war in which he was engaged, and who seems not to have been endowed with that fertility of genius which adapts itself to the existing state of things, and invents expedients fitted to the emergency, was, in the present crisis, extremely unfortunate in his choice of measures. Neither advancing on the enemy, nor retreating, he exerted his utmost powers to form his broken troops, under an incessant and galling fire, on the very ground where they were first attacked. In his fruitless efforts to restore order, every officer on horseback, except Mr. Washington, was killed or wounded; and at length the general himself, after losing three horses, received a mortal wound, and his regulars fled in the utmost terror and confusion. Fortunately, the Indian enemy was arrested by the plunder found on the field

of

of battle, and the pursuit was soon given over. The provincials exhibited an unexpected degree of courage, and were among the last to leave the field.

The defeat was total, and the carnage unusually great: sixty-four out of eighty-five officers, and about half the privates, were killed and wounded. The artillery, military stores, baggage, and even the private cabinet of the commander in chief, containing his instructions, fell into the hands of the enemy; but the general was brought off the ground in a tumbril. The force of the assailants was computed at about three hundred men.

The defeated army fled precipitately to the camp of Dunbar, where Braddock expired of his wounds. The terror excited by this unexpected calamity seems to have been communicated to the residue of the army. As if the situation of their affairs had become desperate, all the stores collected for the campaign, except those necessary for immediate use, were destroyed; and not long after the death of General Braddock, the British troops were marched to Philadelphia, where they went into quarters. The whole frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was left exposed to the incursions of the savages, with only such protection as they could give themselves. The back settlements

ments were generally broken up, and the inhabitants driven into the interior country. So excessive was the alarm, that even the lower parts of those colonies entertained apprehensions for their safety, and persons were not wanting who supposed that the sea board itself was insecure.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous as that against Fort du Quêsne, were neither of them successful. For that against Crown Point, which was to be carried on entirely by provincials raised for the purpose, three thousand seven hundred men were agreed on; and the colony of Massachussetts, which engaged with peculiar zeal in the enterprise, determined on raising, provisionally, in addition to its quota, eight hundred men, to reinforce the army if the occasion should require it. Those causes of delay, which for ever retard military operations to be carried on by distinct governments, had all their influence on this enterprise; and infinite difficulties were experienced before the army was enabled to move. The troops were not assembled at Albany, the place of general rendezvous, until the last of June; nor were the artillery, provisions, and other necessaries for the expedition collected till the last of August. At length, however, General Johnson reached the south end of Lake George, on his way to Tycon-

Tyconderoga, which was then unfortified, and of which he designed to take possession, viewing it as the key to Crown Point.

The armament fitted out in the ports of France for Canada had, under cover of a thick fog, eluded the British squadron which was stationed off the banks of Newfoundland to intercept it; and, with the loss of only two ships of war, on board which were several companies of land forces, had entered the St. Lawrence. After arriving at Quebec, the Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French forces, resolved to lose no time in Canada, but to proceed immediately against the English. His regulars consisted of about twelve hundred men. To these he added about six hundred Canadians and Indians; and at the head of this small army he set out for Oswego. On hearing of this movement, General Johnson applied for reinforcements; and the eight hundred men raised for this purpose in Massachussetts were ordered to his immediate assistance. An additional body of two thousand men was directed to be raised for the same object, and the other colonies concerned in the expedition also determined to furnish the reinforcements required of them.

Dieskau did not wait for their arrival. On discovering that Johnson was approaching Lake George, he determined to postpone his designs against

against Oswego, and to attack the provincials in their camp. To this he was the rather induced, by the information he had received, that they were entirely without artillery.

On being informed that Dieskau was advancing against him, Johnson detached Colonel Williams with a body of about one thousand men to reconnoitre and skirmish with the enemy. This officer met the French about four miles from the American camp, and immediately engaged them. He fell himself in the action, and his party was soon overpowered and put to flight. A second detachment sent out to his aid experienced the same fate, and both were very closely pursued by Dieskau, till they rejoined the main body, which was posted behind a breastwork of fallen trees which the Americans had formed in their front. At this critical moment, within about one hundred and fifty yards of this work, the French halted for a short time; and this interval gave the Americans, who had fortunately two days before received some pieces of cannon from Fort Edward, time to recover from the first alarm, and to determine on a resolute defence, and to play their artillery on the assailants with effect.

When the baron advanced to the charge, he was received with firmness, upon which his militia and savages deserted him, and he was under the

the necesssity of ordering his regulars to retreat. A close and ardent pursuit took place, and Baron Dieskau himself, being mortally wounded, and left alone, was made a prisoner.

A scouting party from Fort Edward, consisting of a detachment from the regiments of New Hamphire and New York, under Captains Folsom and M'Gennis, fell in with the baggage of the enemy, and attacked and routed the guard which had been placed over it. Soon after this was achieved, the retreating army of Dieskau approached, and was also very gallantly attacked by the Americans, who had been judiciously posted behind trees for the purpose. Finding thus unexpectedly an enemy whose numbers were entirely unknown, the confusion of the fugitive army was increased, and they abandoned their baggage and fled towards their posts on the lake.

The repulse of Dieskau was a fortunate circumstance for the northern colonies. It was magnified into a splendid victory, and had some tendency to remove the depression of spirits occasioned by the defeat of Braddock, and to inspire the provincials with more confidence in themselves. General Johnson, who was wounded in the engagement, received very solid testimonials of the gratitude and liberality of his country. The house of commons bestowed on him

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five thousand pounds sterling, and the king conferred on him the title of baronet.

This success was not improved. The hopes and expectations of the public, respecting the ultimate object of the expedition, were by no means gratified. General Johnson complained that his troops seemed impressed with apprehensions of the enemy, from the boldness with which they had been attacked; and were unwilling, from the insufficiency of their clothing, want of provisions, and other causes, to proceed further on the enterprise; and, although urged by General Shirley, now the commander in chief, to attempt Tyconderoga, even that object was abandoned. A council of war was unanimously of opinion that it was unadvisable to proceed on it, and the residue of the campaign was employed in fortifying his camp.

The general court of Massachussetts, which colony had, from the commencement, taken a peculiar interest in this enterprise, voted that it was expedient for the army to proceed immediately against Crown Point, and appointed commissioners to repair to Albany, for the purpose of corresponding with the committee of war at Boston on the means of forwarding supplies for the army during a winter campaign. But when these commissioners met, the lieutenant-governor and council of New York, and the

the commissioners from Connecticut, it was unanimously agreed that the army under General Johnson should be discharged, except six hundred men, who should be engaged to garrison Fort Edward, on the great carrying place between the Hudson and Lake George, and Fort William Henry, which had been constructed on that lake.

The French on their part took possession of Tyconderoga, and fortified it.

General Shirley, who was to conduct the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, experienced so many delays that he did not reach Oswego till late in August. His force consisted of something less than fifteen hundred men, of whom one hundred and twenty were Indians, or militia called for the occasion, and the residue were provincial regulars.

Having employed some time in ascertaining the strength of the enemy at both these places, he resolved to embark between six and seven hundred men, with some pieces of artillery, on the lake, and to proceed against Niagara. Relinquishing for the present so much of his plan as respected Fort Frontignac, he determined to leave the residue of his army at Oswego, for the security of that place.

While employed in the embarkation of his troops, the rains set in with such fury as entirely

to arrest the progress of that business. The Americans were greatly distressed, and the few remaining Indians so discouraged that they dispersed. It became apparent that the season was too far advanced for the service to be performed, and this enterprise also was relinquished.

After leaving a garrison of seven hundred men in Oswego, with directions to complete the works of that place, Governor Shirley returned to Albany.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1755. It opened with so decided a superiority of force on the part of the English as to promise the most important advantages. But, if we except the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, no single enterprise was crowned with success. Great exertions were made by the northern colonies, and a considerable debt incurred; but their efforts were productive of no benefit. From the want of one general superintending authority in their councils, which could contemplate and control the different parts of the system; which could combine all their operations, and direct them with effect towards the attainment of the object pursued; every thing failed. Such delays and deficiencies were experienced that, although a considerable force was in motion, it could not be brought to the point against which it was to act till the season

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for action was over, and the opportunity of executing the plans which had been concerted had passed away.

The system adopted by the British cabinet, for conducting the war in America, left it to the colonial governments respectively to determine on the number of men each would bring into the field; but required from them to support their own troops, and also to contribute towards the support of those sent from Great Britain to their assistance. But this system could not be enforced. The requisitions of the British minister were adopted, rejected, or modified, at the discretion of the government on which they were made; and, as no rule of proportion had been adopted, each colony was much inclined to consider itself as having contributed more than its equal share towards the general object; and having received less of the attention and protection of the mother country than it was entitled to. This temper produced a slow and reluctant compliance on the part of some, which enfeebled and disconcerted enterprises, for the execution of which the resources of several were to be combined.

In the mean time, the whole frontier, as far as North Carolina, was exposed to the depredations of the savages, who were almost universally under the influence of the French. Their bloody

incursions were made in all directions, and many settlements were entirely broken up.

It is a curious and singular fact, that while hostilities were thus carried on by France and England against each other in America, and troops were furnished by each nation for the purpose of prosecuting the war with vigour in the new world, the relations of peace and amity were still preserved in Europe. In consequence of the military transactions of 1754, each nation had determined to fit out a considerable armament to aid the efforts made in its colonies; and when it was understood that Admiral Boscawen was ordered to intercept that of France, the Duc de Mirepoix, the French ambassador at London, complained of the proposed measure, and gave formal notice, that the king, his master, would consider the first gun fired at sea as a declaration of war. On receiving intelligence of the capture of a part of the squadron by Boscawen, the French minister received orders from his sovereign to leave London; upon which letters of general marque and reprisal were immediately issued by the British government. By this prompt and decisive measure, a great number of French merchantmen were taken, and about seven thousand of their best sailors fell into the hands of the English. This act was very loudly complained of by France, and had, unquestionably,

ably, a very considerable influence on the war which was commencing in Europe, as well as in America. War, however, was not declared in form till the ensuing spring.

On the return of General Shirley to Albany, after the close of the campaign in 1755, he received there a commission from the lords justices of the kingdom, his majesty being then in Hanover, appointing him commander in chief of the king's forces in North America. A meeting of all the governors was immediately called at New York, for the purpose of holding a grand council of war, in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing campaign. In this council, which was attended by the governors of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the ill success of the last campaign was attributed principally to the insufficiency of the forces employed to effect the objects which had been attempted. Operations, not less extensive than those which had been proposed for the preceding year, were again contemplated; and, to ensure their success, measures of much greater vigour were resolved on. The reduction of Crown Point, Niagara, with the other ports on Lake Ontario and Fort du Quêsne, were still the favourite objects of the council, and it was determined to make very great exertions to effect them. It was proposed

to raise ten thousand men for the expedition against Crown Point, six thousand for that against Niagara, and three thousand for that against Fort du Quêsne. In addition to this formidable force, and to favor its operations, it was proposed that two thousand men should advance up the river Kennebec, destroy the settlement on the Chaudiere, and, descending to the mouth of that river, which is within a few miles of Quebec, keep all that part of Canada in alarm.

In the mean time, it was proposed to take advantage of the season when the lake should be frozen over to seize Tyconderoga, the garrison of which was understood to be very feeble, and the possession of which would very much facilitate the enterprise against Crown Point. This project, however, was defeated by the unusual mildness of the winter. The middle of January, (1756) arrived without a sufficient quantity of frost and snow to assist the transportation of stores; in consequence of which this expedition was relinquished, and General Shirley, who was also governor of Massachussetts, set out for Boston, in order to make the necessary preparations for the very extensive plans proposed to be executed the following year.

This was a work of no inconsiderable difficulty. To raise in the colonies the number of men required was not an easy task; and in the then

then state of population and wealth, the funds necessary for their support were still less attainable. The colonists were unaccustomed to taxation, and possessed neither established revenues nor credit. Their taxes were levied on their lands and polls; and of consequence must have been extremely burdensome without being very productive.

Such, however, was the solicitude to accomplish the objects contemplated, and so deep an interest did the colonists take in the war, that every nerve was strained to raise and equip the number of men required. The command of the expedition against Crown Point was given to Major-general Winslow, whose conduct in Nova Scotia had very much increased both his reputation and his influence; but, notwithstanding his popularity, the recruiting business was found to progress heavily.

Having made in Massachussetts, so far as depended on government, all the necessary preparations for the next campaign, Shirley set out for Albany, where he was soon superseded * by Major-general Abercrombie, who in his turn yielded the command to the Earl of Loudoun. That nobleman had been appointed early in the

* He was also recalled from his government

year to the command of all his majesty's forces in North America, and very extensive powers, both civil and military, had been conferred on him: but he did not arrive at Albany till Midsummer.

The provincial troops destined for the expedition against Crown Point had, before that time, been assembled at the posts held by the English in the neighbourhood of Lake George; but, on being reviewed by Major-general Winslow, they were found not much to exceed seven thousand men. From this number was to be deducted the garrisons which must necessarily be left in the posts to be maintained in his rear, and he declared himself unable to proceed on the expedition without reinforcements. The arrival, however, of a considerable body of British troops, with general Abercombie, removed this difficulty, when another occurred, which, for a time, suspended the projected enterprise.

The regulations of the crown respecting rank had given great disgust in America, and rendered it extremely disagreeable to carry on any military operations which required a junction of British and provincial troops. When consulted on this delicate subject, General Winslow assured General Abercrombie of his apprehensions that, if the result of the junction should be the placing

placing the provincials under the British officers, it would produce very general discontent and perhaps desertion. His officers concurred with him in this opinion; and, to avoid so unpleasant a circumstance, it was finally agreed that British troops should succeed the provincials in the posts at present occupied by them, so as to enable the whole colonial force which had been raised to proceed under Winslow on the proposed expedition.

On the arrival of the Earl of Loudoun this subject was revived, and the question was by him very seriously propounded, "Whether the troops in the several colonies of New England, armed with his majesty's arms, would, in obedience to his command, signified to them, act in conjunction with his European troops, and under the command of his commander in chief?" The colonial officers could only answer this very serious question in the affirmative; but they entreated it as a favour of his lordship, as the New England troops had been raised on particular terms, and had proceeded thus far to act as originally organized, that he would permit them, so far as might consist with his majesty's service, to act separately. This request was acceded to; but, before any thing was undertaken in consequence of it, the attention both

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of the Europeans and provincials was directed to their own defence.

M. de Montcalm, an able and experienced officer, who succeeded Dieskau in the command of the French troops in Canada, seemed disposed to compensate by his superior activity for the inferiority of his force. While the British and Americans were adjusting their difficulties respecting rank, and deliberating whether to attack Niagara or Fort du Quêsne, Montcalm advanced at the head of about five thousand Europeans, Canadians, and Indians, against Oswego. In three days he brought up his artillery, and opened a battery, which played on the fort with considerable effect. Colonel Mercer, the commanding officer, was killed, and in a few hours the place was declared by the engineers to be no longer tenable. To prevent an assault, the garrison, consisting of the regiments of Shirley and Pepperel, amounting to sixteen hundred men, supplied with provisions for five months, capitulated, and were made prisoners of war. A respectable naval armament then on the lake fell also in the hands of the enemy.

The fort at Oswego had been erected in the country of the Six Nations, and was viewed by them not entirely without jealousy. Actuated by a wise policy, Montcalm destroyed it in their

their presence; declaring to them at the same time, that the French only wished to enable them to preserve their neutrality, and therefore would make no other use of the rights conquest had given them, than to destroy the fortress which the English had erected in their country to overawe them.

Apparently discouraged and disconcerted at this untoward event, every plan of offensive operation was immediately relinquished, and the whole attention of the British general was directed to his security from still further loss. General Winslow was ordered not to proceed on his intended expedition against Tyconderoga, but to fortify his camp so as to guard against any attack which might be made on it, and to endeavour to prevent the army from penetrating into the country by the way of South Bay or Wood Creek. Major-general Webb, with fourteen hundred men, was posted at the great carrying place; and, to secure his rear, Sir William Johnston, with about one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats.

This disposition being made for the protection of that frontier now invaded by the French, the colonies were strenuously urged to reinforce the army. It was represented to them that, should any disaster befal Winslow, who still remained on Lake George, the enemy might be enabled

enabled to overrun the country, unless opposed by a much superior force to that at present in the field.

The northern colonies had been enabled to attend to these representations, and to comply, in some degree, with the requisitions made on them, by having received from the British government, in the course of the summer, a considerable sum of money as a reimbursement for the extraordinary expenses of the preceding year. One hundred and fifteen thousand pounds sterling had been apportioned among them*, according to their respective exertions, and this sum gave new vigour and energy to their councils.

During this state of apprehensive inactivity, the small pox broke out in Albany. This enemy was much more dreaded by the provincials than Montcalm himself. The recruits from New England, who were on their way to camp, were so alarmed at this circumstance, that application was made to countermand their march; and the army at Lake George was not less affected by it. It was found necessary to garrison the posts in that quarter entirely with

* To Massachussetts 54,000l.---to Connecticut 26,000l,---to New York 15,000l.---to New Hampshire 8,000l.---to Rhode Island 7,000l. and to New Jersey 5,000l.

British

British troops, and to discharge all the provincials, except a regiment raised by New York.

Thus terminated, for a second time, in defeat and utter disappointment, the sanguine hopes, formed by the colonists, of a brilliant and efficient campaign. An immensity of labour had been employed, and money expended, in collecting, from a great distance by land, troops, provisions, and military stores, at Albany, the place of general rendezvous, and transporting them from thence, through an almost unsettled country, to Lake George; but, after all their expensive and laborious preparations, not an effort had been made to drive the enemy even from their outposts at Tyconderoga.

The expedition to Lake Ontario had not been commenced, and for that against Fort du Quêsne no preparations were made. The colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, far from contemplating offensive operations, were unable to protect themselves, and their frontiers were exposed to all the horrors of Indian warfare. The expedition up the Kennebec, for the purpose of destroying the settlement on the Chaudiere, and alarming Lower Canada, was also abandoned. A small scouting party explored the country, but was entirely unequal to the service originally proposed, and therefore did not attempt it. Thus no one enterprise contemplated

templated at the opening of the campaign, was carried into execution.

About the middle of January, 1757, a military council, composed of Lord Loudoun, and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia, was held at Boston. His lordship opened his propositions to this council with a speech, in which he attributed to the colonies all the disasters of the preceding campaign. No notice, he said, of the proposed expedition against Crown Point had been received by his majesty's ministers, when he sailed from England, on the 17th of May, although that expedition had been resolved on by the assembly of Massachussetts so early as the 16th of February. The provincial troops too were in no respect equal to the expectations he had been authorized to entertain of them. The stipulated numbers were not brought into the field; and, in quality, they were so inferior to those of former years, that he was obliged to unite them to the regulars; a connection in the way of which they interposed so many difficulties that Oswego, and the other posts belonging to the English, were taken before the delays thus produced could be surmounted. He complained too that the real state of the forts and garrisons had not been reported to him by his predecessor, and that his requisition on the colonies for aid had only produced

duced votes of the several legislatures, which effected nothing; nor was he relieved from this situation until the arrival of the Highlanders enabled him so to reinforce the provincials as probably to have saved them from being defeated, and the country from being entirely overrun by the enemy. He then proposed that New England should raise four thousand men * for the ensuing campaign; a contribution of which, he said, they ought not to complain, when they reflected on the expense incurred by the crown in supporting such a number of troops as were employed by it in their defence. Requisitions proportionably large were also made on New York and New Jersey.

Notwithstanding the ill success which had thus far attended the combined arms of Great Britain and her colonies, they were not discouraged; but, still cherishing the hope that their future efforts would be attended with better fortune, their exertions to bring a formidable force

* This requisition was apportioned in the following manner by Lord Loudoun:

To Massachussets 1800—to Connecticut 1400—to Rhode Island 450—and to New Hampshire 350 men. The quota of Massachussetts is stated to have been less than would otherwise have been, in consideration of the number of troops employed on the frontiers, and furnished for the marine service.

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into the field were repeated, and the winter was employed in preparations for the ensuing campaign. The requisitions of Lord Loudoun were complied with, and he found himself, in the spring, at the head of a very considerable army. It was not doubted that some important enterprise would be undertaken against Canada so soon as the armament expected from Europe should arrive, and the most sanguine hopes were again entertained of its success.

In the beginning of July, Admiral Holbourn reached Halifax, in Nova Scotia, with a powerful squadron, and a reinforcement of five thousand British troops, under George Viscount Howe; and, on the 6th of the same month, the Earl of Loudoun sailed from New York, with six thousand regulars, to join the troops lately from Europe at the place of their arrival. A junction of these formidable armaments was effected without opposition, and the colonists now looked forward with confidence to some decisive blow which would shake the power of France in America.

The plan of the present campaign varied from that which had been adopted in the preceding years. The vast and complex movements, which had been heretofore proposed, were no longer contemplated, and the offensive operations in America were now to be confined to a single object.

object. Leaving the posts on the lakes strongly garrisoned, the British general had determined to direct his whole disposeable force against Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton; and Halifax had, on this account, been fixed on as the place of general rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the expedition.—But, after collecting the land and naval forces at this point, information was received that a fleet had lately arrived from Brest, and that Louisburg was garrisoned by a regular army of six thousand men, exclusive of provincials, and was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbour. No hope of success could be entertained against so formidable a force, and the enterprise was postponed till the next year; without even attempting any thing against a body of French who, having escaped when the plan of transplanting all the inhabitants from Nova Scotia was about to be executed, were now ready to join every predatory party making incursions on the English settlers. The general and admiral returned to New York in August, and the provincials were dismissed. Feeling perfectly secure with respect to Louisburg, the French general determined to avail himself of the absence of the principal part of the British force, and to obtain complete possession of Lake George.

With an army collected principally from the garrisons of Crown Point, Tyconderoga, and the adjacent forts, which, with the aid of Indians and Canadians, amounted to nine thousand men, the Marquis de Montcalm laid siege to Fort William-Henry, which was garrisoned with three thousand men; and the fortifications of which were strong and in very good condition. As a further security to this important post, Major-general Webb commanded in its vicinity, at Fort Edward, an army of four thousand men. Notwithstanding the strength of the place, and its means of defence, the French commander urged his approaches with so much vigour, that articles of capitulation, surrendering the fort, artillery, and stores, and stipulating that the garrison should not serve against his most Christian Majesty, or his allies, for the space of eighteen months, were signed by Colonel Monroe, the commandant of the fort, within six days after its investment. The garrison was allowed the honours of war, and was of course entitled to personal protection. But the Indians in the French army, disregarding the capitulation, fell upon the soldiers after they had left the place, and committed on them the most cruel outrages. The British officers complained that the troops were pillaged, dragged out of the ranks, and tomahawked. The Marquis

quis de Montcalm is admitted to have exerted himself to prevent these disgraceful and cruel excesses; but very many robberies and murders are alleged to have been committed before his endeavours to restrain his savages were successful.

When this important place was surrendered, the commander in chief had not yet returned from Halifax. The loss of Fort Edward, it was feared, would quickly follow that of Fort William-Henry, and the whole northern frontier be completely laid open to the very formidable enemy which now threatened its invasion. On the first approach of the enemy towards him, General Webb had applied for additional troops, which were held in reserve, for the purpose of assisting him in case of emergency; and the utmost exertions were made to furnish him from the militia with the aids he required. It is not improbable that those exertions were among the causes which restrained Montcalm from marching against Fort Edward. The return of the regular army to New York, on the last of August, dispelled all fear of an invasion, and enabled the general, who contemplated, on his part, no further active operations, to dismiss the provincials.

Unsuccessful in all his attempts to gather laurels from the common enemy, the Earl of

Loudoun, after placing his army in winter quarters, found himself engaged in a controversy with Massachussetts; in the commencement of which, at least, he displayed a degree of vigour which had now been kept in reserve for two campaigns. This controversy is thus stated by Mr. Minot: "Upon information from the governor, that a regiment of Highlanders was expected in Boston, the general court provided barracks for the accommodation of a thousand men at Castle Island, not as an expense which could of right be demanded of the inhabitants, but as an advance of money on the national account. Soon afterwards several officers arrived from Nova Scotia to recruit their regiments, which could not be done if they were to be lodged in the barracks at the castle. They made application to the justices of the peace to quarter and billet them, as provided by act of parliament; but met with a refusal, on the principle, no doubt, that the act did not extend to this country. In consequence of this Lord Loudoun sent a letter, (November 15th, 1757,) insisting peremptorily on the right demanded, as the act for quartering did, in his opinion, extend to America and every part of his majesty's dominions, where the necessities of the people should oblige him to send those troops, either for the defence of those dominions, or the protection

tection of his subjects." After descanting largely on the question, he concluded in the following decisive manner: "That having used gentleness, patience, and confuted their arguments without effect, they having returned to their first mistaken plan, their not complying would lay him under the necessity of taking measures to prevent the whole continent from being thrown into confusion. As nothing was wanting to set things right, but the justices doing their duty (for no act of the assembly was wanting or necessary for it), he had ordered the messenger to remain only forty-eight hours in Boston; and if on his return he found things not settled, he would instantly order into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more were wanting, he had two in the Jerseys at hand, besides those in Pennsylvania. As public business obliged him to take another route, he had no more time left to settle this material affair, and must take the necessary steps before his departure, in case they were not done by themselves."

The general court passed a law. This law was short of Loudoun's expectations, which he failed not to communicate by letter, which the governor laid before the assembly. They answered it by an address to his excellency, in which the spirit of their forefathers seemed to

revive. They again asserted that the parts of the act of parliament relating to this subject did not extend to the colonies and plantations; and that they had therefore enlarged the barrack at the castle to accommodate the number recommended, and passed a law for recruiting parties, as near the act of parliament as the nature of the country and its settlements would admit: that such a law was necessary to give power to the magistrates, and they were willing to make it, when the troops were necessary for their protection and defence. They asserted their natural rights as Englishmen; that by the royal charter, the powers and privileges of civil government were granted to them; that the enjoyment of these was their support under all burdens, and would animate them to resist an invading enemy to the last, as their loss or hazard would dispirit them. If their adherence to the rights and privileges in any measure lessened the esteem which his lordship had conceived for them, it would be their great misfortune; but that they would have the satisfaction of reflecting that, both in their words and actions, they had been governed by a sense of duty to his majesty, and faithfulness to the trust committed to them. This address being forwarded with assurances from the governor, Lord Loudoun affected to rely on them for making the matter of

quarters

quarters easy in future. He countermanded the march of the troops, and condescended to make some conciliatory observations respecting the zeal of the province in his majesty's service. For these he received a very ample return by a message from the two houses to the governor, wherein they explained their law to have been made not to enforce an act of parliament, but to supply measures in a case where it did not reach them: that they are willing by a due exercise of the powers of civil goverment, to remove, as much as might be, all pretence of the necessity of military government; such measures they were sure would never be disapproved of by the parliament of Great Britain, their dependence upon which they never had a thought of lessening: that the authority of all acts of parliament, which concerned the colonies and extended to them, were ever acknowledged in all courts of law, and made the rule of all judicial proceedings in the province; that there was not a member of the general court, nor did they know of an inhabitant within the bounds of the government, who ever questioned this authority.

To prevent any ill consequences that might arise from their holding such principles, they then utterly disavowed them, as they should readily have done at any times past, had there

been occasion for it; and they prayed "that his lordship might be acquainted therewith, that they might appear in a true light, and that no impression might remain to their disadvantage."

This explicit avowal of sentiments, on the part of Massachussetts, so different from those which had long been cherished respecting the relations which connected them with their mother country, would iuduce an opinion that their modes of thinking had recently become more colonial than they appeared to be on all former occasions. This was probably the fact; but Mr. Minot, who may be presumed to have had a personal acquaintance with the transaction, does not attribute entirely to that cause the conciliating temper which was manifested at the close of the contest, which had commenced with such appearances of asperity. Massachussetts had made large advances for the prosecution of the war, for which she expected reimbursements from parliament; and she was unwilling, at such a juncture, to make impressions unfavourable to the success of her claim.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIII.

Review of Affairs at the close of the Campaign of 1757—*Great Preparations for the Campaign of* 1758—*Amiral Boscawen and General Amherst arrive at Halifax—Plan of the Campaign—Expeditions against Louisbourg, Tyconderoga, and Crown Point—General Abercrombie repulsed under the Walls of Tyconderoga—Fort Frontignac taken by Colonel Bradstreet — Expedition against Fort du Quêsne—Preparations for the Campaign of* 1759—*General Amherst succeeds General Abercombie—Plan of the Campaign—Tyconderoga and Crown Point taken—The army of Amherst put into winter quarters at Crown Point—French repulsed at Oswego, defeated at Niagara, and that place taken—Expedition against Quebec—Check given the English army—Battle on the Plains of Abraham—Death of Wolfe and Montcalm—Victory of the English—Quebec capitulates—Garrisoned by* 5000 *men, under command of General Murray—Attempt to recover Quebec—Battle near Sillery —Quebec besieged by Mons. de Levi—Siege raised*

raised—Montreal capitulates—War with the Southern Indians—Battle near Echoe—Grant defeats them, and burns the Towns of the Middle Settlements—Treaty with the Cherokees ---Negociations between England and France ---Altercations with Spain---Mr. Pitt proposes a Declaration of War against that Monarchy---Is over-ruled, and resigns his office ---War with Spain, and great success of the English---Treaty of Peace.

THE campaign of 1757 had closed, leaving the affairs of Great Britain in North America in a more gloomy situation than at any former period. By the acquisition of Fort William-Henry, the French had obtained complete possession of the Lakes Champlain and George; which afford the easiest admission either into Canada, or from that province into the northern British colonies. By the destruction of Oswego, they in like manner had acquired the dominion of those Lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of the Mississipi, and unite Canada to Louisiana. By means of Fort du Quêsne too, on the Ohio, they maintained their ascendency over the Indians, and held undisturbed possession of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains; while the English settlers were driven to the Blue Ridge. Thus

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the great object of the war in that quarter had been gained; and France now held the country, for hostilities had been commenced. With an inferior force the French had been successful in every campaign, and had uniformly obtained advantages over the English, and gained ground on their colonies. Nor were they less fortunate elsewhere. The flame of war we have seen kindled in America had communicated itself to Europe and Asia; and in every quarter of the world where hostilities had been carried on, the British arms had been attended with defeat and disgrace. Those were not wanting who believed the character of the nation to have changed, and its antient courage to have been lost. The most gloomy predictions respecting its destinies were uttered; and serious apprehensions seemed to have been entertained by many, of its being no longer able to maintain that high station it had so long filled among the nations of Europe.

But this inglorious scene was about to be succeeded by one of unrivalled brilliancy; and from the point of extreme depression, to which their affairs had progressed, the brightest æra in British history was now to commence.

Far from being really broken by misfortune, the spirit of the nation was never higher than at present; and more of indignation than dismay was inspired by the ill success of their

arms.

arms. The public voice had at length made its way to the throne, and imperiously forced on the unwilling Monarch a minister who has been very justly deemed one of the greatest personages of the age in which he lived.

Mr. Pitt had long been distinguished in the House of Commons for the boldness and the splendor of his eloquence His parliamentary talents, and the independent grandeur of his character, had given him a vast ascendency in that body, and had made him the idol of the nation. In 1756 he had been introduced into the councils of his Sovereign; but, dissenting essentially from the system adopted for the prosecution of the war, he retained his station for a very short time. The public affection followed him out of office; and the national disasters continuing, it was found impracticable to conduct the complicated machine of government without his aid. In the summer of 1757 an administration was formed, so as to conciliate the great contending interests in parliament, and Mr. Pitt was placed at its head. The controlling superiority of his character gave him in the cabinet the same ascendency which he had obtained in the House of Commons; and he seemed to dictate the measures of the nation. But a very short time was necessary to show, that in this extraordinary man were combined qualities seldom united in the

the same person. His talents for action seemed even to eclipse those he had displayed in debate; and in directing the vast and complicated movements of a war extending on both elements over every quarter of the world, he unfolded a vigor of mind, a clearness of judgement, and a decision of character, surpassing the expections even of those who had been long accustomed to admire the firmness with which he had pursued his political course. His plans, partaking of the proud elevation of his own mind and the exalted opinion he entertained of his countrymen, were always grand; and the means he employed for their execution never failed to be adequate to the object. Possessing without limitation the public confidence, he commanded all the resources of the nation, and drew liberally from the public purse; but the money was at all times faithfully and judiciously applied in the public service. Too great in his spirit, too sublime in his views, to become the instrument of faction, when placed at the head of the nation he regarded only the interest of the nation; and overlooking the country or the party which had given birth to merit, he searched for merit only, and employed it wherever it could be found. From the elevation of the House of Brunswick to the British throne, a very considerable portion of the people, under the

the denomination of Tories, had been degraded, persecuted, and oppressed. Superior to this narrow and short-sighted policy, Mr. Pitt sought to level these enfeebling and irritating distinctions, and to engage every British subject in the cause of his country. Thus equally commanding the strength and wealth of the kingdom; with perhaps greater talents, he possessed certainly greater means, than any of his predecessors.

In no part of His Majesty's dominions was the new administration more popular than in his American colonies. Deeply and peculiarly interested in the events of the war, they looked for a change of fortune from this change of men, and cheerfully made every exertion their resources would admit for the ensuing campaign. The circular letter of Mr. Pitt to the American governors assured them, that to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive campaign, it was determined to send a formidable force to operate, by sea and land, against the French in America: and he called upon them to raise as large bodies of men, within their respective governments, as the number of inhabitants might allow. Arms, ammunition, tents provisions, and boats, would, he said, be furnished by the crown: and he required the colonists to levy, clothe, and pay their men; assuring

assuring them at the same time, that it should be recommended to Parliament to make them a compensation. The Northern Colonies determined on raising a very considerable body of troops, and on furnishing liberally the supplies required from them.

The Legislature of Massachussetts unanimously voted 7000 men; Connecticut agreed to furnish 5000; and New Hampshire 3000. So high was the public spirit, and so universal the exertions which were made, that the Colonial troops, great as were their numbers when compared with the population of the country, were ready to take the field very early in May; and the transports for carrying those of Massachussetts to Halifax were manned, and ready to sail, in fifteen days after they were engaged. Nearly one-third of the effective men of that province* are said, by Mr. Minot, to have been in military service, in some mode or other; and the taxes are represented as having been so heavy, that in the capital they amounted to two-thirds of the income of real estate.

In the mother country too was transfused into every department a degree of vigorous activity,

* It is to be recollected that Massachussetts furnished a very great proportion of seamen and artificers, besides a very considerable body of troops for the security of the frontiers.

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which was the sure prognostic of victory. Her fleets blocked up in the ports of France the supplies of men and stores which were designed to reinforce the armies in Canada, and captured on the seas most of those which had been able to make their way into the ocean. While effectual means were thus taken to intercept the aids which were essential to the preservation of the French colonies in America, a powerful armament, equipped with unusual expedition, sailed from the ports of Britain. Admiral Boscawen arrived early in the spring at Halifax with a formidable fleet, and about 12,000 British troops under the command of General Amherst.

The Earl of Loudoun had returned to England and the command of all the British and American forces in the Colonies had devolved on General Abercrombie. He now found himself at the head of the most powerful army ever seen in the New World. His whole numbers, comprehending troops of every description, have been computed by Mr. Belsham at 50,000 men, of whom about 20,000 were Provincials. To be irresistible, this force only required energy and skill in its direction; qualities which seem to have been possessed, in a very considerable degree, by those to whom the command was now entrusted.

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The objects of the campaign were no longer defeated by delays. The necessary preparations for action were made during the winter; and very early in the year (1758) was commenced in execution the plan which had been formed for the summer.

Three expeditions were proposed for this year. The first was against Louisboug. The possession of this place was deemed the more important, because it would facilitate an enterprise against Quebec, through the gulph and up the river St. Lawrence. The second was against Tyconderoga and Crown Point, places which commanded in a great degree Lake Champlain as well as Lake George. The third was designed against Fort du Quêsne; a position which gave its possessor vast influence over the savages, and from whence the French had been in the habit of making, with their Indian allies, terrible and bloody incursions into Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The land forces destined against Louisbourg, consisting of 14,000 men, were commanded by Major-general Amherst; and a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, was employed in the same enterprise. The troops embarked at Halifax the 24th of May, and this truly for-

midable armament arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June.

The use made by the British of their naval superiority in cutting off the supplies designed by France for her colonies, was felt throughout all her possessions; and in none more than in Louisbourg. The garrison of that important place, which was commanded by the Chevalier Drucourt, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of only 2500 regulars, aided by 600 militia. The works are represented by him to have been much neglected, and in many places to have gone to ruin. The harbour was secured by five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates; three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin. It was therefore necessary to land at some distance from the town. This was effected at the creek of Cormoran with some difficulty, but little loss: and as soon afterwards as the artillery and stores could be brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with 2000 men, to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Light-house Point; which was an eminence from whence the ships in the harbour, and the fortifications of the town might be very greatly annoyed. This service was affected with celerity. On his approach the post was abandoned by the French, and several very strong batteries mounting heavy

heavy cannon were erected on it. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, where the English batteries were pushed as far as the Green Hill.

Confident that the town must ultimately fall, the siege was conducted with great caution, and attention to the safety of the troops. In a letter from the Chevalier de Drucourt to a friend at Paris, published in the papers of the day, he states, that on the 15th of July the English were yet three hundred toises from the place, and continued to secure their camp, by redoubts and epaulments, against any attempts which might be made on their rear by the Canadians and savages. A very heavy cannonade, however, was kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbour; and at length one of the great ships was set on fire by a bomb from the battery on the Lighthouse-Point, and blown up. The flames were communicated to two others, and they shared the same fate.

This heavy misfortune not inducing a surrender, the English Admiral sent into the harbour a detachment of 600 seamen in boats, under the Captains Laforey and Balfour, to make an attempt on the two remaining ships of the line, which still kept possession of the basin. This service was executed with great gallantry: one

which was aground was destroyed, and the other was towed off in triumph.

The harbour being now in possession of the English, and several practicable breaches made in the works, the place was no longer deemed defensible; and the Governor offered to capitulate on terms similar to those granted at Port Mahon. These were refused: and it was required that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war, or sustain an assault both by sea and land, which would assuredly be made on the next day. Drucourt, at first, rejected these humiliating terms; but on receiving a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, who dreaded the threatened assault, he dispatched a messenger to signify his acceptance of them. Louisbourg, with its artillery, provisions, and military stores of every sort; and also Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependecies, were placed, by the articles of capitulation, in the hands of the English; who experienced no further difficulty in taking complete possession of the whole island of Cape Breton.

This important acquisition, which, besides diminishing very essentially the military and naval strength of France in America, opened the way for an expedition the next year, up the St. Lawrence, against Quebec itself, was made with the

the loss of only between five and six hundred men, including officers, in both killed and wounded. The joy it diffused throughout the Colonies, long since rendered familiar with disappointments, will readily be conceived.

The expedition against Tyconderoga and Crown-Point was conducted by General Abercrombie in person. Having assembled his forces in the neighbourhood, he embarked them, on Lake George, on board one hundred and twenty-five whale-boats and nine hundred batteaux. His army consisted of nearly 16,000 effectives, of whom about 9000 were Provincials. It was attended by a very formidable train of artillery, and every requisite for the success of the enterprise. The pieces designed to cover their landing were mounted on rafts.

Early the next morning they reached the landing place, which was in a cove on the west side of the lake leading to the advanced guard of the enemy, composed of one battalion posted in a logged camp, where a debarkation was effected without opposition. The troops were immediately formed into four columns; the British in the centre, and the Provincials on the flanks; in which order they marched towards the advanced guard of the French. On their approach, the enemy, who were not in force to oppose them, destroyed whatever was

in their power, and, deserting their camp, made a precipitate retreat.

Abercrombie continued his march towards Tyconderoga, with the intention of investing the place; but the woods being very thick, and the guides unskilful, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some measure entangled with each other. In this situation, Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy; which, in retreating from Lake George, was likewise lost in the wood. He immediately attacked and dispersed them; killing several, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners, among whom were five officers and three cadets.

This small advantage was purchased at a very dear rate. Though only two officers on the side of the British were killed, one of these was Lord Howe himself, who fell on the first fire. This gallant young nobleman had endeared himself to the whole army, and was universally bewailed. The British and Provincials, from the commander in chief to the common soldier, alike lamented his loss. The civil authorities too manifested their respect for his character: and the Assembly of Massachussetts passed a vote for the erection of a superb cenotaph to his memory, in the collegiate church of Westminster,

minster, among the heroes and patriots of Great Britain.

Without experiencing any further opposition the English army took possession of the post at the Saw-mills, within two miles of Tyconderoga. This fortress commands the communication between the two lakes, is surrounded on three sides with water, and secured in front by a morass. As an additional defence, nearly five thousand men*, independent of the ordinary garrison, were stationed under the cannon of the place, and covered by a breast-work; the approach to which had been rendered extremely difficult by trees fallen in front for a considerable distance, with their branches outward, many of which were cut and sharpened, so as to answer the pupose of chevaux-de-frise.

Having learned from the prisoners the strength of the army under the walls of Tyconderoga, and that a reinforcement of 3000 men was daily expected, General Abercrombie thought it advisable to storm the place, if practicable, before this reinforcement should arrive. To obtain, however, the information which was

* The accounts published in Paris state this army to have been commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, and to have amounted to less than 4000 men, of whom only 2800 were Europeans.

necessary to enable him to determine on this measure, an engineer was sent across the river, in order to reconnoitre from thence the works of the enemy, and report their condition. It appeared from his report, that the intrenchments were unfinished, and that the works were practicable if attacked in their present state. Relying on this intelligence, an immediate storm was resolved on, without waiting for the artillery; and the disposition for an assault was instantly made.

The rangers, light infantry, and the right wing of the Provincials, were ordered to form a line out of cannon-shot of the intrenchments, with their right extending to Lake George, and their left to Lake Champlain. In rear of this line were formed the regulars, who were relied on to storm the works. The piquets, who were to begin the attack, were to be sustained by the grenadiers, and the grenadiers by the battalions. The whole were ordered to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and to reserve their own until they had passed the breast-work.

The troops marched to the assault with great intrepidity, but their utmost efforts could make no impression on the works. The impediments in front of the intrenchments, which were entirely unlooked for, retarded very considerably their

their advance*, and exposed them, while entangled among the boughs of the fallen trees, to a very galling fire. The breast-work itself was eight or nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented; so that the assailants, who do not appear to have been furnished with ladders, found it impracticable to pass it. After a contest of near four hours, and several repeated attacks, General Abercrombie despairing of success ordered a retreat.

The army retired to the camp it had left in the morning, and, reimbarking the next day, resumed its former position on the south side of Lake George.

In this rash and ill-advised attempt the killed and wounded of the English amounted to near two thousand men, of whom not quite four hundred were Provincials†. The enemy were covered during the whole action, and their loss was consequently inconsiderable.

As if entirely disconcerted by this unexpected and bloody repulse, General Abercrombie totally relinquished for the present campaign his designs against Tyconderoga and Crown-Point. Searching however for the means of repairing the misfortune, if not the disgrace,

* General Abercrombie's Letter. † New York Gazette.

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which had been sustained by his arms, and of employing to some advantage the very great force he still commanded, he readily closed with a proposition made by Colonel Bradstreet for an expedition against Fort Frontignac. This fortress stands on the north side of Ontario, at the very point where the St. Lawrence issues from that lake. It was a post of real importance; whether viewed in relation to the influence over the Indians derived from it by its possessor, or as it respected the navigation of the Lakes, and consequently the communication between the French settlements in Canada and in Louisiana. Yet, as if entirely unapprehensive of danger in this quarter, the French, who were not indeed strong enough to defend all their forts, had drawn their forces to other points, and had left this in a great degree undefended.

The detachment designed for this service was commanded by Colonel Bradstreet, and consisted of 3000 men, of whom about 200 were British, and was furnished with eight pieces of cannon and three mortars.

Colonel Bradstreet marched to Oswego, at which place he embarked on the Ontario, and landed late in the evening of the 25th of August within one mile of the fort*. In two days his

* Bradstreet's Letter.

batteries

batteries were opened at so short a distance that almost every shell took effect, and the French Governor, finding the place absolutely untenable, surrendered at discretion. The Indians had already deserted, and the prisoners amounted only to 110 men. This being the great magazine from whence the south-western posts drew their supplies, and the principal depôt of articles designed for the Indians, there were found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, a large number of small arms, provisions, military stores, and goods to a very great amount. Nine armed vessels, mounting from eight to eighteen guns, also fell into the hands of the English.

Having destroyed the fort and vessels, and such stores as could not be brought off, Colonel Bradstreet recrossed Lake Ontàrio, and returned to the army; which undertook nothing further this campaign. The demolition of Fort Frontignac, and of the stores which had been there collected, was supposed to have very much contributed to the success of the expedition against Fort du Quêsne.

The conduct of this enterprise had been entrusted to General Forbes, who marched from Philadelphia about the beginning of July, at the head of the main body of the army destined for this service, in order to join Colonel Bouquet at Raystown. The most unaccountable delays

delays were experienced in making the necessary preparations to move from this place; and it was not until the month of September that the Virginia regulars, commanded by Colonel Washington, were ordered to join the British troops. It had been determined to neglect the road over the mountains which had been already made by Braddock, and to cut a new one from Raystown to Fort du Quesne. About the time this resolution was formed, and before the army was put in motion, Major Grant was detached from the advanced post at Loyal Hannau with 800 men, partly British and partly Provincials, to reconnoitre the fort and the adjacent country. This gentleman invited an attack from the garrison; the result of which was, that upwards of 300 of the detachment were killed and wounded, and Major Grant himself was made a prisoner.

At length the army, amounting to at least 8000 men, moved from Raystown. The difficulties to be surmounted were so great, that they did not reach Fort du Quesne till late in November. Deserted by their Indians, and too weak to maintain the place against so formidable an army, the garrison abandoned the fort the evening before the arrival of the British, and escaped down the Ohio in boats. The English took possession of it, and, placing a garri-

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son in it, changed its name, in compliment to the popular minister, and called it Pittsburg. The acquisition of this post was of unspeakable importance to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Its possession had given the French an absolute control over the Indians of the Ohio, who were accustomed to assemble there, and make from thence the most destructive incursions against the frontiers of those three colonies. Their route was marked by fire and the scalping-knife; and neither age nor sex could afford any protection to those who fell into their hands. The expulsion of the French from this commanding position gave the English the entire possession of the country, and produced a complete revolution in the disposition of the Indians inhabiting it. Finding the current of success to be now running against their antient friends, they manifested a disposition to reconcile themselves to the most powerful; and a treaty was held, at which peace was concluded with all the Indians between the Lakes and the Ohio.

Although the events of 1758 did not, perhaps, in every quarter equal the expectations which might reasonably have been entertained from the mighty force brought into the field, yet the advantages gained in it were very decisive.

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The whole country constituting the original cause of quarrel had now again changed masters, and was in possession of the English. The acquisition of the island of Cape Breton opened to them the way to Quebec, up the St. Lawrence; and their success to the west enabled them to direct all their force against Canada. Encouraged by this revolution in their affairs, and emboldened by the conquests already made to hope for others still more extensive, the Colonies, on the application made to them through their Governors by Mr. Secretary Pitt, prepared vigorously for the ensuing campaign; but their resources had been so much exhausted by past exertions that they were unable to equal the efforts of the preceding year. Instead of seven thousand, Massachussetts now voted five thousand men for the service of this year; (1759) and the other colonies following her example diminished their quotas, so as to preserve in relation to that of Massachussetts the ratio established at Albany. On a letter from General Amherst being laid before the Legislature by the Governor, complaining of this diminution of zeal and exertion in the common cause, and requiring an additional number of men for the protection of Nova Scotia, and for the purpose of reinforcing the garrison of Louisbourg, which would be weakened by a detachment intended

tended to be taken from it for an expedition up the St. Lawrence,—an additional body of fifteen hundred men was voted, and means adopted to raise them; but this vote was accompanied with a message* to the Governor, stating the circumstances of the province, and the

* This paper is a document not entirely unworthy of attention, as it manifests how completely the strength of the province was exerted.

"The several reasons and motives, say the General Court, which your Excellency has from time to time laid before the two Houses, in order to induce an augmentation of the forces for the service of the present year, have been maturely weighed and considered by us.

"We have likewise had an opportunity, in the recess of the Court, of acquainting ourselves with the state of the several parts of the province, and its ability for raising an additional number of men. We acknowledge, with gratitude, that the interest and ease of the people have been consulted by your Excellency in making the last levy, as far as could consist with His Majesty's service and the purposes for which the men are raised. The distress brought upon the inhabitants is, notwithstanding, extremely great. The number of men raised this year, we are sensible, is not equal to that of the last. The Assembly then made the greatest effort that has ever been known in the province. They looked upon it to be their last effort; they had no expectations that it could be repeated; and it was really so great as to render it impracticable for us to make the like a second time. The number of our inhabitants is since then much lessened: some were killed in battle; many

the causes which had prevented their bringing into the field, for the present campaign, a force equal to that which had been furnished the preceding year.

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many died by sickness while they were in service, or soon after their return home; great numbers have enlisted as rangers, artificers, recruits in His Majesty's regular forces, and for other branches of the service.

"The unprecedented charge of the last year also tends to increase the distress of the province. The expense of the regiments raised for His Majesty's service amounted to near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling: besides this, the inhabitants of the several towns in the province, by fines or by voluntary contributions to procure men for the service, paid at least sixty thousand pounds sterling more; which is in all respects as burthensome as if it had been raised as a tax by the government. The defence of our own frontiers, and the other ordinary charges of government, amount to at least thirty thousand pounds sterling more.

"Because the province last year raised seven thousand men, it is inferred that it is able to raise the same number this; and no allowance is made for its being reduced so much in its estate and number of inhabitants.

"We have generally been the first in proposals for public service, and have determined what force we would employ; other governments have followed after us in just what proportion they pleased; and we wish it had been an equal one. We are now lessened and they are increased; and we are yet urged to continue the same proportions. We have always chosen to avoid entering into the consideration of quotas or proportions, but we seem now obliged to do it. We conceive

that,

After the disaster before Tyconderoga, and the capture of Fort Frontignac, General Abercrombie was succeeded in the command of the army of North America by Major-general Amherst,

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that, in order to determine a just proportion, the wealth, the number of inhabitants, and the charges of each government for its immediate defence, are all to come under consideration. If this be allowed to be a just rule to determine by, we are sure, that not only in all past years, but in this present year also, we have done more in proportion to the general service, than any one government upon the continent.

"We know of no quota settled for each colony: the agreement made at Albany by the commissioners in the year 1754, has been generally urged as a rule of proportion since that time. But it was agreed by the same commissioners, that regard should always be had to the special services of any colony for its immediate defence. We are obliged to keep six hundred men in pay in defence of our frontiers and sea coasts. This charge some of the other governments are wholly free from, and the rest subject to in a very small degree. Exclusive of the six hundred men aforesaid, we have already raised five thousand men for the general service. Connecticut has raised in proportion to the five thousand only, according to the Albany plan, without any regard to the six hundred. Every other government falls short even of that; so that we have this year already done more in proportion than any of our neighbours.

"We are told that we are the leading province: we have been so for many years past; and we have been as long unequally burthened. We have borne it patiently, although

herst, who had conducted the successful expedition against the island of Cape Breton; and the vast and bold plan was now formed of conquering Canada in the course of the next campaign.

The decided superiority of the British at sea, the activity of their fleets, their successes in the West Indies, and the very great exertions the French deemed it necessary to make in other quarters of the world, still prevented the arrival of such reinforcements as were necessary for the security of their possessions in North America; and the English now proposed to enter Canada by three different routes with three powerful ar-

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we have seen our inhabitants leaving us and removing to other governments, to live more free from taxes; and a few years ago, for this reason alone, four of our principal towns refused any longer to submit to our jurisdiction; and another government found a pretence for receiving them, and they are not yet returned to us.

"Under these distresses we are still willing to afford every reasonable aid in our power. A further impress would distress and discourage the people to such a degree, that, as well in faithfulness to the service as to the particular interest of this province, we are bound to decline it. But, great as our burthens are, we have now engaged a bounty more than double what has ever yet been given by the province, in order to procure a voluntary enlistment of fifteen hundred men over and above the five thousand already raised; and we have reason to hope that this bounty will be sufficient, and have the effect your Excellency desires.

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mies, and to attack, nearly at the same time, all the strong holds by which that country was defended.

It was determined, that one division of the army, to be commanded by Brigadier-general Wolfe, a young officer of the most promising talents, who had signalized himself in the siege of Louisbourg, should ascend the St. Lawrence as soon as the navigation of that river should be practicable, and lay siege to Quebec. A strong fleet was to escort and co-operate with the troops destined for this enterprise.

Major-general Amherst, the commander in chief, was to lead the central and main army, composed of British and Provincials, against Tyconderoga and Crown-Point. After making himself master of these places, he was to proceed over Lake Champlain and by the way of Richelieu to the St. Lawrence, and down that river, so as to effect a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. From their combined force was expected the conquest of the capital of Canada.

The third army was to be commanded by General Prideaux. It was to be composed principally of Provincials; and to be reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, to be raised by Sir William Johnson. The first destination of this division was against the important post

of Niagara. This place being reduced, Prideaux was to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal. If Montreal should fall into his hands before the surrender of Quebec, he was then to join the grand army at that place.

It could not be expected that so extensive, so complicated, so bold a plan should succeed in all its parts; and it was greatly to be apprehended that the failure of one part might defeat the whole. But it suited the daring spirit of enterprise which so eminently distinguished the officers now commanding the British forces, and was entered upon with zeal and activity.

As the other two expeditions, especially that against Quebec, were supposed greatly to depend on the celerity with which the movements of the main army should be made, General Amherst, in the commencement of winter, set about these preparations, which were indispensable to the enterprise he was to undertake; and very early in the spring transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany, where his troops were assembled by the last of May.

Notwithstanding the continued exertions of the General, the summer was far advanced before he could cross Lake George; and he did not reach Tyconderoga until the 22d of July, although he experienced no opposition of any conse-

consequence from the enemy. The lines drawn around that place were immediately abandoned; and the next day they were taken possession of by the English.

The French force employed in this quarter was incompetent to the defence of the posts they held; and the plan of the campaign, on their part, seems to have been to embarrass and delay the invading army as much as possible, but not to hazard any considerable diminution of their strength by defending places, until they should be so completely invested as to render the retreat of the garrison impracticable. The hope seems to have been entertained, not without reason, that by retreating from post to post, and making a show of intending to defend each, the advance of the English might be retarded until the season for action on the Lakes should pass away; while the French force would gradually be so concentred as to enable their General to maintain some point, which would arrest the progress of Amherst down the St. Lawrence to Quebec.

In pursuance of this plan, as soon as dispositions were made by the English to take possession of Lake Champlain, Tyconderoga was evacuated, and the garrison retreated to Crown-Point.

Having repaired the works at Tyconderoga,

Amherst advanced early in the month of August to Crown-Point, which was deserted on his approach. The garrison retired to Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. At this place he understood the French had collected between three and four thousand men, defended by artillery, and protected by several armed vessels on the Lakes.

After making great exertions to obtain a naval superiority over the enemy, he embarked his army on Lake Champlain; but a succession of storms compelled him to abandon the further prosecution of the enterprise. He returned to Crown-Point, where the troops were put into winter quarters.

In the beginning of July General Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario with the army destined against Niagara. Immediately after his departure from Oswego, that place, which was defended by about twelve hundred men, under the command of Colonel Haldiman, was very vigorously attacked by a body of French and Indians, who were repulsed with some loss.

In the mean time Prideaux proceeded towards Niagara, and landed, without opposition, about three miles from the fort. The place was invested in form, and the siege carried on by regular approaches. In its progress General Prideaux was killed by the bursting of a cohorn,

and

and the command devolved on General Johnson. To relieve a post of so much importance as Niagara, great efforts were made. A considerable body of French troops were drawn from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqueisle; with which, aided by some Indian auxiliaries, it was determined to risk a battle, in the hope of thereby raising the siege. Early in the morning the enemy approached a party of the English, who had marched out to meet them, while the residue of the army kept the garrison in check, and the action commenced. It was not, however, of long duration. The French complain that the savages forsook them; and victory soon declared itself in favour of the English.

This battle decided the fate of Niagara. The works of the besiegers had been pushed within one hundred yards of the walls; and a further attempt to defend the place was deemed hopeless. A capitulation was immediately signed, by which the garrison, amounting to rather more than six hundred men, became prisoners of war.

On hearing at Tyconderoga the death of General Pridcaux, Amherst had detached General Gage to take the command of the troops before Niagara; but before his arrival the place had surrendered.

Although in the midst of the campaign, it

was, notwithstanding, thought unadvisable further to prosecute the plan which it had been originally designed to execute with this army. The obstacles which combined to restrain its ulterior operations are not stated; but it is most probable that the French army lying in the neighbourhood of Montreal, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of New France, which was understood to consist of five thousand regulars, was deemed too formidable to be encountered.

Although very important advantages were gained by the British arms in Upper Canada, yet, as neither division of their army succeeded in that quarter so completely as to co-operate with General Wolfe, who conducted an enterprise of the greatest hazard and the deepest interest, very serious fears were entertained concerning that officer; and until the fate of the army under his command should be ascertained, it was by no means certain that the whole campaign would terminate in a manner favourable to the future conquest of Canada.

As soon as the waters were sufficiently clear of ice to be safely navigable, Wolfe, who had made, during the winter, every previous arrangement, embarked about eight thousand men, with a very formidable train of artillery, at Louisbourg, under convoy of the Admirals Saunders and

and Holmes. After a prosperous voyage he anchored, late in June, about half-way up the Island of Orleans, lying in the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, and extending up to the basin of that town. Without any other difficulty than was occasioned by a violent storm, by which several of his boats were dashed to pieces, and some of his men drowned, a landing was effected on the island, where the troops found every refreshment and accommodation required by their situation.

From this position the British General could take a near and certain view of the obstacles to be surmounted before he could hope for success in the enterprise in which he was engaged. These were so great, that valour itself, tempered with its ordinary share of discretion, might have shrunk from encountering them, and have deferred all decisive operations till intelligence should be received that General Amherst was approaching with a victorious army to his assistance. Even the bold and sanguine temper of Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope; and in a celebrated letter written to Mr. Pitt, and afterwards published, he declared "that even before commencing his operations he could not flatter himself with being able to reduce the place."

"Quebec

"Quebec* stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and on the west of the St. Charles, which latter river empties into the former immediately below the town. Its fortifications are strong, and the city elegant and extensive. It consists of an upper and a lower town; the lower is built on the strand which stretches along the base of the lofty rock on which the upper is situated. This rock continues with a bold and steep front far to the westward, parallel to and near the river St. Lawrence. On this side, therefore, the city might well be deemed inaccessible. On the other it was protected by the river St. Charles, in which were several armed vessels and floating batteries, deriving additional security from a strong boom drawn across its mouth. The channel of this river is rough and broken, and its borders intersected with ravines. On its left or eastern bank was encamped a French army strongly entrenched, and amounting, according to all the English accounts, to ten thousand men†. The encampment extended from

* Belsham.

† These accounts must be exaggerated. An account of the French force engaged on the plains of Abraham, published with the Letter of General Townshend, makes the amount of those

from the St. Charles eastward to the river Montmorency; and its rear was covered by an almost impenetrable wood *." To render this army still more formidable, it was commanded by a general, who, in the course of the present war, had already given signal proofs of active courage and consummate prudence. The same Marquis de Montcalm, who, when strong enough to act offensively, had so rapidly carried Oswego and Fort William-Henry; and who, when reduced to the defensive, had driven Abercrombie with so much slaughter from the walls of Tyconderoga, was now at the head of the army which covered Quebec, and was an antagonist in all respects worthy of Wolfe †.

Although perceiving in their full extent the difficulties with which he was environed, the British general possessed a mind too ardent, and too replete with military enthusiasm, to yield to them. Unpromising as were his prospects, he did not hesitate respecting the part it became him to take. He could not submit to the disgrace of relinquishing an enterprise intrusted to him, while any human means for accomplishing his object remained unessayed.

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those who had fought on that day three thousand five hundred men, and only one thousand five hundred are represented to have been previously detached under Bouganville.

* Belsham. † Russell.

He

He took possession of Point Levi, on the southern side of the St. Lawrence, where he erected several heavy batteries, which were opened on the town. These did great execution among the houses, many of which were set on fire and reduced to ashes, but made no considerable impression on the fortifications. The works were too strong, and at too great a distance from Point Levi, to be essentially affected by a cannonade from thence.

Nor could his ships be employed in this service. The elevation of the principal fortifications placed them beyond the reach of the fleet; and the river was so commanded by the batteries on shore, as to render a station in it near the town entirely ineligible.

The English general was sensible of the impracticability of reducing the place, unless he should be enabled to erect his batteries on the north side of St. Lawrence; to effect which he determined to use his utmost endeavours to bring Montcalm to a decisive engagement.

After several unavailing attempts, by the use of every military manœuvre his mind could suggest, to draw that experienced and cautious officer from the strong and advantageous post he occupied, Wolfe resolved to pass the Montmorency, and to attack him in his intrenchments. Should even this hardy enterprise prove

successful

successful, the river St. Charles would still present an obstacle to his views not easily to be surmounted: but, to use his own heroic language, he was aware that "a victorious army finds no difficulties *."

In consequence of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were ordered to be landed near the mouth of the Montmorency, under cover of the cannon of the ships of war; while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross that river higher up. The original plan was, to attack, first, a detatched redoubt close to the water's edge, apparently unprotected by the fire from the intrenchments, in the hope that Montcalm might be induced to support this work; in which case it would be in the power of Wolfe to bring on the general engagement he so much desired. Should the French general submit to the loss of this redoubt, without any effort to preserve it, he might from thence examine with coolness the situation of the enemy; throw his army over the Montmorency; and regulate, by circumstances, his future operations.

On

* Belsham. Russell.

On the approach of the British troops the redoubt was evacuated; and Wolfe observing some confusion in the French camp changed his original purpose, and determined to avail himself of the supposed impression of the moment, and not to defer the meditated attack. With this view he directed the grenadiers and royal Americans to form on the beach; where they were to wait until the whole army should be formed, and they should be properly sustained. Orders were at the same time dispatched to Townshend and Murray to have their divisions in readiness for fording the river.

Disregarding the orders which had been given, the grenadiers and royal Americans rushed forward with impetuous and irregular valour on the intrenchments of the enemy; where they were received with so steady and well supported a fire, that they were soon thrown into confusion, and suffered very severely in their retreat. The General advancing in person with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army: but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted, and the English commander was compelled to give orders for repassing the river, and returning to the Island of Orleans; which was effected, not without considerable loss.

Rendered

Rendered sensible by this disaster of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm chose to retain the strong post he at present occupied, the whole attention of Wolfe was once more turned to the St. Lawrence.

A plan was formed, in concert with the admiral, for the purpose of destroying the French ships, and distracting the enemy by descents on the bank; and twelve hundred men, under the command of General Murray, were embarked in transports for its execution. The bank of the river where practicable was not undefended. He made two vigorous attempts to land on the northern shore without success. In the third he was more fortunate. By a sudden descent at Chambaud he burnt a valuable magazine filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the main object of the expedition, which was the destruction of the French ships in the river, totally miscarried. They were secured in such a manner as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. Murray was, therefore, recalled by the commander in chief. He returned disappointed; but brought with him the intelligence that Niagara was taken; that Tyconderoga and Crown-Point had been abandoned; and that General Amherst was making

making preparations to attack the Isle aux Noix.

This intelligence was joyfully received; but it promised no immediate assistance; and the season for action was rapidly wasting away. Nor was it easy for Wolfe to avoid contrasting the success attending British arms under other auspices, with the ill fortune hitherto experienced by himself. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disaster at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits preying on his delicate frame sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, "he declared to his intimate friends his resolution not to survive the disgrace he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise*" His dispatches, addressed about this time to Mr. Pitt, evince his perfect sense of the almost desperate situation of his affairs, and seemed intended to prepare the nation for the ill success with which he was threatened. "We have," said he, "almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs

* Belsham.

fairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exercised only where there is hope of a favourable event*." "The whole letter," says Mr. Belsham, "exhibits a picture of gloomy grandeur, of a mind revolving and meditating designs of the temerity of which it is perfectly conscious." Nor is the delicacy it manifests less worthy of recollection than its magnanimity. Severely as he must have been disappointed at the failure on the part of General Amherst to execute his part of the plan of co-operation concerted between the two armies, a failure to which all his own cruel embarrassments were attributable, not a sentence was permitted to escape himself, manifesting the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction at the conduct of that officer. He seemed perfectly persuaded that the utmost exertions of the commander in chief were used to accomplish every thing which had been expected from him.

It having been determined in council that all their future efforts should be directed towards the effecting of a landing above the town, the camp in the Island of Orleans was entirely broken up; and the whole army having em-

* Russell.

barked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part carried higher up the river.

Montcalm could not view this movement without alarm. That part of Quebec which faces the country had not been fortified with so much care as those which look towards the water; and he was apprehensive that a landing might be effected high up the river, and the town approached on its weaker side. At the same time he could not safely relinquish his present position, because the facility of transporting their troops, which the command of the water gave the English, would enable them to seize the ground on which he was now encamped, should his army be moved above the town to prevent their landing in their quarter. Thus embarrassed, he detached Monsieur de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to watch the motions of the English up the river, and prevent their landing.

In this state of things a bold plan was formed, well adapted to the adventurous spirit of the English general, and the desperate situation of his affairs*. This was to land the troops in the night, a small distance above the city, on the

* Russell. Belsham.

northern

northern bank of the river, and by scaling a precipice, accessible only by a narrow path, and therefore but weakly guarded, to gain by the morning the heights behind the town, where it has been stated to have been but slightly fortified. The difficulties attending the execution of this scheme are represented to have been numerous. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended and only practicable landing-place so narrow as easily to be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as not to be ascended without difficulty even when unopposed. Under these circumstances, it was apparent that a discovery and a vigorous opposition would not only defeat the enterprise, but probably occasion the destruction of a great part of the troops engaged in it.

This bold resolution being taken, the admiral moved up the river, several leagues above the place where it was designed to land, and made demonstrations of an intention to debark a body of troops at different places. During the night a strong detachment was put on board the flat-bottomed boats, which fell silently down with the tide to the place fixed on for the descent, which was made with equal secrecy and vigour about a mile above Cape Diamond, an hour before day-break, Wolfe himself being the first man who leaped on shore. The Highlanders

and light infantry who composed the van, under the particular command of Colonel Howe, were intended to secure a four-gun battery which defended an intrenched path, by which the heights were to be ascended; and, dislodging from thence a captain's guard, to cover the landing of the remaining troops. The violence of the current forced them rather below the point of debarkation, and this circumstance increased their difficulties. However, scrambling up the precipice by the aid of the rugged projections of the rocks, and the branches of trees and plants growing on the cliffs, into which it was every where broken, they gained the heights, and very quickly dispersed the guard, which did not make the resistance to have been expected from the advantages of their situation. The whole army followed, up this narrow pass; and having only encountered a scattering fire from some Canadians and Indians, from which very little loss was sustained, they gained the summit by the break of day, where the corps were formed under their respective leaders.

The intelligence that the English were in possession of the heights of Abraham was soon conveyed to Montcalm. Believing it to be impossible that an enterprise attended with so much difficulty could have been achieved, that officer supposed it to be only a feint, made with a small

a small detachment, for the purpose of drawing him from his present strong and well-chosen position.

On being convinced of his error, he comprehended at once the full force of the advantage which had been gained, and the necessity it imposed on him of changing his plan of operations. He perceived that a battle was no longer avoidable, and that the fate of Quebec depended on its issue. He prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his strong camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles for the purpose of attacking the English army.

This movement was made in the view of Wolfe, who without loss of time formed his order of battle. His right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and his left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by the light infantry of Howe, who had now returned from the four-gun battery. The reserve consisted of Webb's regiment drawn up in eight subdivisions, with large intervals between them*.

Montcalm had formed his right and left wing about equally of European and Colonial troops.

* General Townshend's Letter.

His centre consisted of a column of Europeans; and two small field-pieces were brought up to play on the English line.

In this order he marched to the attack, advancing in his front about fifteen hundred militia and Indians, who were sheltered by bushes, from whence they kept on the English an irregular and galling fire.

The movement of the French indicating an intention to flank his left, General Wolfe ordered the battalion of Amherst, with the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of his line; where they were formed *en potence* under General Townshend, presenting to the enemy a double front.

Disregarding the irregular fire of the Canadian militia and Indians, he ordered his troops to reserve themselves for the main body of the enemy, advancing in the rear of those irregulars; but in the mean time a field-piece which had been brought up played briskly and with effect on the French column.

Montcalm had taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English; so that the two generals met each other, at the head of their respective troops, where the battle was most severe. The French advanced briskly to the charge, and commenced the action with great animation. The

English

English are stated to have reserved their fire until the enemy were within forty yards of them, when they gave it with immense effect. It was kept up for some time with great spirit; when Wolfe, advancing at the head of Bragg's and the Louisbourg grenadiers with charged bayonets, received a mortal wound of which he soon afterwards expired. Undismayed by the loss of their general, the English continued their exertions under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved. He also received a ball through his body, which is stated to have passed through his lungs, and General Townshend took command of the British army. About the same time Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalion, received a mortal wound, and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The left wing and centre of the French began to give way; and, being pressed close with the English bayonet and Highland broad-sword, were driven, notwithstanding one attempt to rally and renew the attack, partly into Quebec, and partly over the St. Charles river.

On the left and rear of the English the action was less severe, and the attack made by the enemy much less animated. The light infantry had been placed in houses; and Colonel Howe, the better to support them, had taken

post with two companies, still further to the left, behind a copse. As the right of the enemy attacked the English left, he sallied from this position against their flanks, and threw them into disorder. In this critical moment, Townshend advanced several platoons of Amherst's regiment against their front; and thus was completely frustrated the intention the French general had formed of turning the left flank. Townshend maintained his position, for the purpose of keeping in check the right wing of the enemy, and a body of savages stationed opposite the light infantry, for the purpose of getting into and falling on their rear.

In this state of the action, Townshend was informed that the command had devolved on him. Proceeding instantly to the centre, he found that part of the army thrown into some disorder by the ardor of pursuit, and his efforts were employed in restoring the line. Scarcely was this effected, when Monsieur de Bougainville, who had been detached as high as Cape Rouge to prevent a landing above, and who had hastened to the assitance of Montcalm, on his first hearing that the English had gained the plains of Abraham, appeared in the rear at the head of fifteen hundred men. Fortunately the right wing of the enemy, as well as their left and centre, was now entirely broken

broken, and had been driven off the field. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery being advanced towards Bougainville, he retired; and Townshend did not think it advisable to risk the important advantages already gained, by a pursuit of this fresh body of troops through a difficult country*.

In this decisive battle, in which the numbers seem to have been nearly equal, but in which the English had the immense advantage of being all disciplined troops, while little more than half the enemy were of the same description, the French regulars, who do not appear to have been well supported by the militia or Indians, were almost entirely cut to pieces.

On the part of the English the loss was by no means so considerable as the fierceness of the action would have induced us to expect. The killed and wounded were less than six hundred men; but among the former was the commander in chief. This gallant officer, of whom the most exalted expectations had very justly been formed; whose uncommon merit and singular fate have presented a rich theme for panegyric to both the poet and historian, received, in the commencement of the action,

* General Townshend's Letter. Belsham. Russell.

a ball

a ball in his wrist: but without discovering the least discomposure, wrapping a handkerchief around his arm, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon afterwards he received a shot in the groin. This painful wound he also concealed; and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, when a third bullet pierced his breast. Though expiring, it was with reluctance he permitted himself to be conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered in the agonies of death the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. Being told that the enemy was visibly broken, he reclined his head, from extreme faintness, on the arm of an officer standing near him, but was soon aroused with the distant sound of—"They fly! they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. On being answered—"The French!" "Then," said he, "I depart content;" and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory. "A death more glorious, and attended with circumstances more picturesque and interesting, is no where to be found in the annals of history*."

With less of good fortune, but not less of heroism, expired the equally gallant Montcalm.

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* Belsham.

The

The same love of glory, and the same fearlessness of death, which in so remarkable a manner distinguished the British hero, were not less conspicuous in the conduct of his competitor for victory and for fame. He expressed the highest satisfaction at hearing that his wound was mortal; and, when told he could survive only a few hours, quickly replied,—"So much the better: I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec*."

The first days after the action were employed by General Townshend in fortifying his camp, cutting a road up the precipice for the conveyance of his heavy artillery to the batteries on the heights, and making the necessary preparations for the siege of Quebec. But before his batteries were opened the town capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants should, during the war, be protected in the free exercise of their religion, and the full enjoyment of their civil rights, leaving their future destinies to be decided by the general peace.

General Townshend seems to have been induced to allow better terms than would otherwise have been granted, from an apprehension that the place might still be relieved by Bou-

* Russell.

gainville,

gainville, or by a detachment from the army near Montreal.

Quebec, now in the possession of the English, was garrisoned by about five thousand men, under the command of General Murray; and the fleet sailed out of the St Lawrence.

The conquest of Quebec seemed to place the remaining possessions of France, in North America, within the grasp of the English. Montreal, the only place of strength still held by them, was threatened by an army vastly superior to that by which it could be defended; and was absolutely incapable of being supported by reinforcements from Europe, unless Quebec could be recovered.

Aware of the importance of following up the blow which had been given, and completing the work thus fortunately begun, the English minister was not of a temper to relax those exertions by which so much had already been acquired. His letters to the Governors of the several American Colonies were still replete with assurances of his employing a strong military force for the ensuing year; and with exhortations to them to continue their efforts for the annihilation of the French power in Canada. These exhortations were accompanied with assurances that Parliament would be again applied to, for the purpose of reimbursing their

future

future extraordinary expenses; and were productive of the desired effect. The several Assemblies voted the same number of forces which had been kept up the preceding year, and the same supplies which had been theretofore furnished.

In the mean time the Governor of New France, and the General of the army, made very great exertions to retrieve their affairs, and to avert the ruin which threatened them.

The remaining military force in the country was collected about Montreal; where it was reinforced with six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. Monsieur de Levi, on whom the command devolved after the death of Montcalm, determined to attempt the recovery of Quebec before the opening of the St. Lawrence should put it into the power of the English to reinforce the place, and to afford it the protection of their fleet. He was the rather encouraged to hope for success in this enterprise, from the circumstance of his being left in command of the St. Lawrence, in consequence of all the British ships of war having been withdrawn from that river.

His first hope had been, that it might be practicable to carry the place by a *coup de main* during the winter; but on reconnoitring the out-posts, he found them so well secured, and the

the Governor and the garrison so much on the alert, that this project was relinquished; and the execution of his design was postponed till the upper part of the St. Lawrence should open, and afford a transportation by water for his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage.

In the month of April, 1760, these were embarked at Montreal, under the convoy of six frigates; a naval force with which the English were unable to contend; and which, sailing down the St. Lawrence while the army marched by land, reached Point au Tremble in ten days.

During the winter, General Murray had strengthened the works on the quarter from which an attack was most dreaded, and had taken every precaution in his power for the preservation of the place; but the excessive cold of the climate, added to the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, had so affected the health of his troops, that from five thousand the garrison was now reduced to about three thousand effective men.

To avoid, if possible, the hardships and dangers of a siege, in a town too extensive to be securely defended by his sickly garrison, and the inhabitants of which were known to be secretly hostile to him, he took the bold resolution of hazarding a battle. To this he was the more

more readily induced by the consideration, that, should he even be defeated, the excellence of his troops would still enable him to retreat into the town, and defend the works.

Having determined on this measure, he led out his garrison to the heights of Abraham, where a rich crop of laurels had been already gathered; and with great impetuosity attacked the French near Sillery. He was received with firmness; and soon finding that he made no impression, and that dispositions were making by Monsieur de Levi to pass his flank, and to inclose him in such a manner as to render a retreat difficult, he was under the necessity of calling off his army, and retiring into the city. In this fierce encounter the loss of the English was near a thousand men; and they represent that of the enemy to have been more considerable.

Aware of the value of time, Monsieur de Levi improved to the utmost the victory he had gained. His trenches were opened before the town that very evening; but such was the difficulty of bringing up the heavy artillery, that near a fortnight elapsed before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the city. By that time General Murray, who had not been less indefatigable than the besieging general, had completed some outworks, and mounted

mounted on his ramparts so formidable a train, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers. The batteries had been opened but a very few days before the garrison was relieved from it perilous situation by the arrival of a British fleet in the river: a circumstance which occasioned the more joy, as the river St. Lawrence had in no former year been supposed to be practicable from the sea so early in the season.

Every hope of success being extinguished by the arrival of a fleet, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and retired with precipitation to Montreal.

The only hope now remaining was, that so much time would be employed in making the necessary preparations to attack him, that the season would be wasted before the place should fall; and thus some foot-hold might still be retained in Canada, which subsequent events might enable him to improve. In this hope the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Govenor-general of Canada, whose head-quarters were at Montreal, called in all his detachments, and collected round him the strength of the colony.

In the mean time General Amherst took the necessary measures to secure, with the least possible loss, the utter annihilation of this remnant of French power in Canada. He determined to employ the whole immense British and Provincial

cial force, now under his command, in the accomplishment of this object; and measures were taken during the winter to bring the armies from Quebec, Lake Champlain, and Lake Ontario, to act against Montreal.

The commander in chief, having made the necessary arrangements for the expedition, marched in person, at the head of upwards of ten thousand British and Provincials, from the frontiers of New York to Oswego, where he was joined by Sir William Johnson with about a thousand Indians.

Having embarked his army on Lake Ontario, and possessed himself of the fort of Isle Royale, which in a great measure commands the entrance into the St. Lawrence, he proceeded down that river, through a difficult and tedious navigation, to Montreal.

General Murray had been directed to advance by water to the same point of action, with as many men as could be spared from the garrison of Quebec; and he appeared below the town on the very day General Amherst approached it from above. The two Generals experienced no difficulty in the debarkation of their troops; and so well had the whole plan of co-operation been concerted, that in a very short time, Colonel Haviland joined them with the detachment from Crown Point.

This officer had embarked on Lake Champlain; and having made himself master of the Isle of au Noix without much difficulty, St. John's and Chamblie fell without opposition. after which he joined the grand army.

The junction of these armies presented before Montreal a force to which no effectual resistance could possibly be made; and the French Governor offered to capitulate. In the month of September, Montreal, Detroit, Michilimachinac, and all other places within the government of Canada then remaining in possession of France, were surrendered to His Britannic Majesty. The troops were to be transported to Old France; and the Canadians to be protected in their property, and the full enjoyment of their religion.

That colossean power which France had been so long, and with such infinite labour and expense, erecting in America; which threatened in future the demolition of the English Colonies, and sought, for the present, to restrict them to a comparatively narrow slip of country on the sea-coast; which had been the motive for one of the most extensive and desolating wars of modern times; was now completely overthrown. The causes of this interesting event are to be found in the superior wealth and population of the English over the French Colonies;

nies; and in that immense naval strength, which, when skilfully exerted, cannot fail to give its possessor advantages in distant war not to be counterbalanced by the numbers, the discipline, the courage, and the military talents, which may unite in the armies of an inferior maritime power.

The greatest joy was diffused throughout the British dominions by this splended conquest, which promised to be the greatest the nation had ever made. It was mingled with a proud sentiment of superiority, which did not perhaps estimate, with exact justice, the relative means employed by the two rival potentates in those fields where so many laurels had been gathered.

But in no part of those dominions was the joy felt in a higher degree, or with more reason, than in America. The war between France and England had assumed, in that region, a terrific form, happily unknown to the other parts of the civilized world. Not confined, as in Europe, to men in arms, women and children had become its common victims. It had been carried by the savage to the fire-side of the peaceful peasant, where the tomahawk and scalping-knife were indiscriminately applied to every age and to every sex. These scenes, from which humanity recoils with horror, were now, it was fondly hoped, at least so far as respected the Northern and Middle

Colonies,

Colonies, closed for ever. The Indians on their frontiers, no longer excited by a rival people, who had won their affections, to make war upon them, and depending on the English alone for supplies, would, it was believed, leave them to pursue in perpetual peace those profitable domestic and agricultural avocations, to which a rich, extensive, and unsettled country so irresistibly attracted them.

From the sharp conflicts of the North, the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia had been entirely exempted. The utmost efforts of France having been unable to involve Spain in the war, their neighbours in Florida remained quiet; and the Indians immediately on their frontiers were in the English interest. As the prospect for establishing peace in the North seemed to brighten, this state of repose in the South sustained a short interruption.

When driven from Fort du Quêsne, the French troops retired down the Ohio into Louisiana; and employed their address in the management of Indian tribes, not unsuccessfully, in drawing the Cherokees from their alliance with Great Britain. Their negociations with these savages were favoured by the irritations given to their warriors in Virginia, where they had been employed against the French, and the Indians in the French Interest; and probably from

from not being indulged in a licentious predatory spirit, they had supposed themselves to be treated with neglect, and even with hostility.

The ill humour excited by these concurring causes began to shew itself in 1759; and upon its first appearance Governor Lyttleton prepared to march into the Cherokee country at the head of a respectable military force. Alarmed at the hostile preparations which were making, thirty-two of their chiefs were dispatched to Charleston, for the purpose of deprecating the vengeance with which their nation was threatened. Their pacific representations did not stop the meditated expedition: but they were taken into the train of the army, under the pretence of securing their safe return; where they were in reality confined as prisoners under a captain's guard, and after their arrival at the place of destination were shut up together in a single hut.

Notwithstanding the irritation excited by this conduct, a temporary treaty was patched up, in which it was agreed that the chiefs already in the possession of the governor should be retained as hostages, till an equal number of those who had committed murder on the frontiers should be delivered in exchange for them; and that in the mean time they should

seize and deliver up every white or red man coming into their country, who should endeavour to excite them to war against the English. This accommodation being made, the governor returned to Charleston, leaving his hostages prisoners in Fort Prince George.

Scarcely had the army retired from the frontiers, when the Cherokees began to contrive plans for the relief of their chiefs; in the execution of which the captain of the fort was killed, and two inferior officers wounded. Orders were immediately given to put the hostages in irons; an indignity so resented by these fierce savages, that the first persons who attempted to execute the orders were stabbed, and one of them died of his wounds. Enraged at this resistance, the soldiers immediately fell on the hostages and massacred them.

Inflamed to madness by this event, the whole nation flew to arms; and, according to their established mode of warfare, vented their fury on the inhabitants of the country in indiscriminate murder.

Mr. Lyttleton being about this time removed Jamaica, the government of the province devolved on Mr. Bull, who made every exertion in his power to alleviate the calamities already sustained, as well as to remove their cause. In consequence of the strong representations which

which were made of the distresses of South Carolina, Colonel Montgomery, with a detatchment of regular troops, was ordered to their assistance, and arrived in the spring: but as all the troops were required this year in the North in order to complete the conquest of Canada, he was directed to strike a sudden blow against the enemy in South Carolina, and to return to New York in time for the expedition against Montreal.

Informed of this circumstance, the utmost exertions were made by the colony for such a co-operation as should render a single rapid expedition decisive of the war; and, with all the force that could be collected, Colonel Montgomery entered the Cherokee country.

Their lower towns were all destroyed; but near the town of Etchoe, the first of their middle settlements, he was met in an almost impenetrable wood by a large body of savages, and a severe action commenced. The English claimed the victory, but without much reason. They were so roughly handled, that Colonel Montgomery, thinking it imprudent to advance deeper into their settlements, withdrew his army and retired to Fort Prince George, from whence he prepared to embark for New York.

The consternation of the province was now extreme. The expences already incurred, and

the sufferings already sustained, in the war with the Cherokees, had been great; and the most serious apprehensions were entertained that both the Creeks and Choctaws would be induced by the French in Louisiana to raise the hatchet against them. In this event their situation, if abandoned by the British troops, would be truly deplorable; and Colonel Montgomery was entreated, in the most earnest manner, not to leave them.

The representations made to that officer were such, that he permitted four companies to remain for the purpose of assisting to cover the frontiers, while with the main body of his detatchment he reimbarked and returned to New York.

Meantime the war continued to rage. The savages encompassed Fort Loudoun, the garrison of which, consisting of two hundred men, was compelled by famine to surrender, on condition of being permitted to march into the settlements. But the Indians regard conventions no longer than they are useful to them. The garrison was attacked on its march; a number of them fell on the first fire, and the remainder were made prisoners.

The war was still carried on with cruel violence on the frontiers, and General Amhert was again applied to for assistance (1761). Canada was

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now conquered; and there was leisure to attend to the situation of the Southern colonies. Late in May, a strong detatchment, commanded by Colonel Grant, arrived at Fort Prince George, and very great exertions were made by the colony to raise a body of its own troops and of friendly Indians, to join the British under his command.

Early in June Colonel Grant marched from Fort Prince George for the Cherokee towns. Near the place where the action had been fought last year with Colonel Montgomery, the Indians again assembled in force, and determined to give battle in defence of their country. The action commenced about eight o'clock in the morning, and was kept up with spirit until about eleven; when the Cherokees began to give way. They were pursued, and a scattering fire kept up for two or three hours; after which Grant marched to the adjacent town of Etchoe, which he reduced to ashes. All their villages in the middle settlement shared the same fate. Their houses and their corn-fields were totally destroyed, and the whole country laid waste. Reduced to the last extremeties, they sued sincerely for peace; and the war was in the course of the summer terminated by a treaty.

It was not in America only that the vigour presiding in the councils of Britain surrounded with military glory the British arms. In Asia and Africa splendid conquests were also made; and in Europe her aids of men and money enabled the greatest monarch of his age to surmount the difficulties which only Frederick the Great and Mr. Pitt could have dared to encounter.

Exhausted by a course of immense exertion, attended by continuing and increasing misfortune, propositions for peace were at length made by the Court of Versailles. To secure the success of these propositions, or manifest to all Europe that the continuance of the war was attributable to England alone, the principle of the *uti possidetis*, a principle most favourable to the interests of the British crown, was offered by France as the basis of the treaty in contemplation. It was further proposed, that the situation in which the two crowns should stand, with respect to their mutual conquests, on the first day of May in Europe, on the first of July in the West Indies and in Africa, and on the first of September in the East Indies, should be the position in which they should remain, with the exceptions of such particular exchanges as might be agreed on. If these epochs should be unacceptable,

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the British government was invited to propose others.

At the close of the campaign of 1759 the monarchs of Britain and of Prussia had signified their willingness to restore peace to Europe, and some measures tending to that object had been taken; but the events of the war had not then been sufficiently decisive sincerely to incline the belligerent powers to an accomodation. Of consequence, the congress which was then mentioned never met, and the sword was the only negotiator resorted to. The propositions now made by France could not be rejected in their present form. The cabinet of London professed as earnest desire for peace as that of Versailles, and acceded to the principle suggested as the basis of the treaty. But any decisive answer to that part of the memorial of the French king, which mentioned the several points of time to be taken for fixing the conquests to be retained, was carefully avoided. The time of the signature of the treaty was considered as the most eligible; but a willingness was avowed to treat on the subject without approving the epochs named by France, or suggesting others as more agreeable to England.

In fact, an expedition against Belleisle seems to have been then in contemplation; and the English minister, persuaded that he should be enabled

enabled to barter this island if acquired for something more valuable to his country, was probably desirous of waiting the result of the proposed enterprise, before he should specify the epochs to which the principle of the *uti possidetis* should extend.

Ministers were, however, appointed, and the negotiations opened both at London and at Paris. While they were pending, the citadel of Belleisle surrendered; immediately after which Mr. Pitt proposed, that the first of July, the first of September, and the first of November then next following, should be the established æras in Europe, the West Indies, and Africa, and the East Indies; after which all the conquests made on either side should be restored.

On the receipt of this memorial, an effort was made to settle the compensations for deviations from the general principle adopted as the basis of the treaty; and no very material difference on this point remained between the parties, which was not in a fair train for adjustment, when the French Minister presented two memorials: the first signifying the apprehensions of His Christian Majesty, that the differences between Great Britain and Spain, if not accomodated, might occasion a fresh war both in Europe and America. These differences, the memorial proceeded to state, had been communicated

cated by His Catholic to His Christian Majesty; and consisted of a claim to the restitution of vessels sailing under Spanish colours, which had been captured during the war by English cruisers; the privilege of the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of the English settlements made upon the Spanish territorities on the Bay of Honduras. After expressing a wish for the accommodation of these differences, the memorial states very intelligibly the expectation, that if war between England and Spain should be the result of their remaining unsettled, France would be under the necessity of engaging in it.

The second memorial respected the affairs of Germany. It communicated the assent of the Empress Queen, the ally of France, to a separate peace between that nation and Great Britain, on the following terms only:—That France should, for her benefit, retain possession of the countries conquered from the King of Prussia, in her name, and as her ally; and that Britain should no longer afford assistance, either in money or troops, to that monarch; France being in the like manner restricted with respect to the Empress Queen.

The haughty spirit of Pitt could brook neither the one nor the other of these propositions. He considered and treated them as indignities

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to the British nation, indicative of a temper by no means favourable to a peace. He assured Mr. Bussy, the French minister at London, first verbally, and afterwards in writing, that His Majesty would not suffer his disputes with Spain to be blended, in any manner whatever, with the negotiations of peace with France; and that any further mention of such a circumstance would be considered as an affront to His Majesty's dignity, and as incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation. He further declared it to be expected, that France would not, at any time, presume upon a right to intermeddle in the disputes between Great Britain and Spain.

Under the influence of these considerations, the memorial was returned as totally inadmissible.

That relative to the King of Prussia was also declared to be inadmissible; and was returned "because it implied an attempt upon the honour of Great Britain, and the fidelity with which His Majesty would always fulfil his engagements with his allies."

An apology having been made by France for blending the affairs of Spain with the pending negotiation, and a wish expressed that it might proceed, the ultimatum of England was dispatched to her minister at Paris. This was substantially

stantially acceded to by France, with only two exceptions. His Christian Majesty adhered to his demand of compensation for captures made at sea previous to the declaration of war; and persisted in his refusal to evacuate the territories conquered from Prussia. To this memorial on the part of France no answer was given; and the negotiations were immediately broken off.

The apology made by the Court of Versailles, for presenting a memorial respecting the disputes between Great Britain and Spain, did not prevent the English Minister from bringing this subject before His Catholic Majesty. Bold and decisive in his temper, he could permit no measure of a doubtful complexion to remain unexplained. Instructions were immediately given to the Earl of Bristol, the British Ambassador at Madrid, to require from the King an explicit declaration, stating by what authority the French Minister had acted in presenting a memorial in the name of the King of Spain, which, to use the language of the Secretary, "best spoke its own enormity;" and, in case it should be avowed, to remonstrate with energy against the unexampled irregularity of such a proceeding; and to declare His Majesty's immovable determination not to add facilities for the satisfaction of that Court, in consideration of any intimation

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on the part of a hostile power, of union in councils, or of present or future conjunctions *.

After noticing the points which had been stated as objects of discussion, he concluded with expressing his expectation that the Court of Madrid would come to some explicit *eclaircissement* as to the destination of her fleets, and with respect to her disposition to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain.

On the subject of the memorial an apologetic explanation was given; but the subjects of dispute between the two nations were not treated in a manner equally satisfactory.

The old King of Spain, who had so cautiously held aloof from the war, was now dead; and his successor to the throne viewed with deep interest the expulsion of the French from America, and the acquisition of their colonies on that continent by the English. He could not but perceive the dangers to which the concentration of so much power in the hands of one European potentate would expose his own dominions in the New World; and he listened with a favourable ear to the representations made by France on this subject.

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* Belsham.

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In this temper the negotiations were protracted, possibly because the Cabinet of Madrid had not yet decided finally on its course; and, probably, because it was not yet convenient to declare itself.

In this state of affairs, while Mr. Pitt viewed with suspicious eyes the conduct of Spain, he received undoubted information that a treaty of alliance had been recently concluded between that power and France, which bound the two nations still more closely together; and, as far as possible, identified their interests.

This treaty was the celebrated Family Compact, signed on the 15th of August, designed to unite for ever, in peace and in war, all the branches of the House of Bourbon in one firm indissoluble alliance, for the aggrandisement of their family and of the nations they governed.

Whether Mr. Pitt received a copy of this instrument, or a general description of its purport, he was perfectly assured that its articles were hostile to Great Britain; and combining this measure with other circumstances, he was convinced that Spain waited only a favourable moment to act openly against her.

With that decision which had at all times marked his character, he determined at once on the course to be pursued. Believing the resolutions of Spain to have been taken, and that

peace or war was no longer in the option of Great Britain, it only remained for her to choose whether the war should commence immediately, or be postponed till the preparations of Spain should be complete. Under such circumstances he deemed courage to be the soundest prudence; and, still following the maxims by which his political life had been governed, considered the path of danger as that which led most directly to security.

At the council-board he urged with all his powers the policy and necessity of an immediate declaration of war; and of sending a squadron into the Mediterranean to intercept the flota, or American Plate fleet, then on its passage from Carthagena to Cadiz.

But the time when Mr. Pitt could dictate public measures had now passed away. The old King, who, though perhaps not pleased with his haughty Minister, seems to have been content that he should govern the nation while he vanquished its enemies and prosecuted the German war successfully, had now descended into the grave; and his grandson was placed on the British throne. Whether the dignity, perhaps haughtiness of manners, which has been universally attributed to the Minister was offensive to Majesty; or the partiality entertained by the young King for the Earl of Bute, who had very carefully

carefully superintended his education, and whom he was desirous of introducing into his Cabinet, or some other cause, had deprived him of the Royal favour; the fact is certain, that a disposition to part with Mr. Pitt had been for some time discovered by those around the person of their Sovereign, and his influence in Council had sustained a consequent diminution.

In the bold measure now proposed, he was supported only by his brother-in-law, Earl Temple. Perceiving clearly that his influence in the Cabinet was at an end, he determined not to continue a Minister merely in form; and, declaring that he would not be responsible for measures which he could not guide, said, he would never again take his seat at that Board. This declaration was heard at the Council-board without emotion. It appeared to be the notification of an event which had been already contemplated; and on tendering his seals of office to the King, they were received with those expressions of esteem which his pre-eminent services had so well merited, but without the slightest indication of a wish that he would continue in his present situation.

Events soon attested the sagacity of this profound statesman. Her rich fleet from America being safe in port, Spain assumed a language

corresponding with her real designs; and in the beginning of the ensuing year (1762) war was declared in form by the two crowns against each other. It was prosecuted on the part of Great Britain with signal success; and in the course of the year 1762, Martinique*, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and all the Caribbee Islands, were wrested from France; and the very important city of Havannah, which in a great degree commands the Gulph of Mexico, was taken from Spain. This course of conquest, the progress of which no military or naval force, in possession of the enemy, seemed capable of stopping until all their distant possessions should be subdued, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris on the 3d of November.

By this treaty His Christian Majesty ceded to Great Britain, for ever, all the conquests made by that power on the continent of North America, together with the river and port of Mobile, and all the territory to which France was entitled on the left bank of the Mississipi, reserving only the island of New Orleans. And it was agreed, that, for the future, the confines

* A very considerable body of troops, raised in New England, was employed in making these conquests.

between

between the dominions of the two crowns*, in that quarter of the world, should be irrevocably fixed

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* The following proclamation was issued soon after the ratification of the articles of peace:

GEORGE R.

Whereas we have taken into our Royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdoms as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves with all convenient speed of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation: We have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our royal proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects, that we have, with the advice of our said Privy Council, granted our letters patent, under our great seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands, ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate governments, styled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.

First, The government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in 45 degrees of north latitude, passes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the

fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississipi, from its source, as far as the river

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sea; and also along the north coast of the Baye des Chaleurs and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, to Cape Rosieres; and from thence crossing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, by the west end of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the westward by the Gulph of Mexico, and the Apalachicola River; to the northward by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's River, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean, and to the eastward and southward by the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea-coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast, from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the westward, by the said lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the River Mississipi; to the northward, by a line drawn due east from that part of the River Mississipi which lies in thirty-one degrees north latitude, to the River Apalachicola, or Chatahouchee; and to the eastward, by the said river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the Islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And, to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to and carried on upon the Coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, We have thought fit, with the advice of our said Privy Council, to put all that coast, from

river Iberville, and from thence drawn by a line along the middle of this river, and of the Lakes Maurepas and Pont Chartrain, to the sea.

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from the River St. John's to Hudson's Straits, together with the Islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller islands, lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our Governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council, thought fit to annex the Islands of St. John and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to our government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our Privy Council aforesaid, annexed to our Province of Georgia all the lands lying between the Rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling our said new governments, that our loving subjects should be informed of our paternal care for the security of the liberties and properties of those who are and shall become inhabitants thereof: We have thought fit to publish and declare, by this our proclamation, that we have in the letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain, by which the said governments are constituted, given express power and direction to our Governors of our said colonies, respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our Council, summon and call General Assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America which are under our immediate government; and we have also given power

The Havannah was exchanged with Spain for the

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to the said Governors, with the consent of our said councils, and the representatives of the people, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the public peace, welfare and good government of our said colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies: And in the mean time, until such Assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in, and resorting to, our said colonies may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of our realm of England; for which purpose we have given power under our great seal to the Governors of our said colonies respectively, to erect and constitute, with the advice of our said Councils respectively, courts of judicature and public justice within our said colonies, for the hearing and determining all causes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England; with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentences of such courts, in all civil cases, to appeal, under the usual limitations and restrictions, to us in our Privy Council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our Privy Council as aforesaid, to give unto the Governors and Councils of our said three new colonies upon the Continent, full power and authority to settle and agree with the inhabitants of our said new colonies, or with any other persons who shall resort thereto for such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as now or hereafter shall be in our power to dispose of, and them

the Floridas, and by establishing these great natural

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them to grant to any such person or persons, upon such terms, and under such moderate quit-rents, services and acknowledgements, as have been appointed and settled in our other colonies, and under such other conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the advantage of the grantees, and the improvement and settlement of our said colonies.

And whereas We are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of our armies, and to reward the same: We do hereby command and empower our Governors of the said three new colonies, and all other our Governors of our said provinces on the continent of North America, to grant, without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and to such private soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of lands, subject, at the expiration of ten years, to the same quit-rents as other lands are subject to in the province within which they are are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.

To every person having the rank of a field officer five thousand acres; to every captain three thousand acres; to every subaltern or staff officer two thousand acres; to every non-commissioned officer two hundred acres; to every private man fifty acres.

We do likewise authorise and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all our said colonies upon the continent of North America, to grant the like quantities of land, and

tural boundaries to the British Empire in North America,

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and upon the same conditions, to such reduced officers of our navy of like rank, as served on board our ships of war in North America, at the times of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who shall personally apply to our respective Governors for such grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by us, or reserved to them, or any of them as their hunting grounds; We do therefore, with the advice of our Privy Council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander in chief in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no Governor or Commander in chief in any of our other colonies or plantations in America do presume for the present, and until our future pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass patents, for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west and north-west, or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to or purchased by us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sove-

reignty

America, every cause for future contest respecting

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reignty, protection and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the lands and territories lying to the Westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and north-west as aforesaid; and We do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.

And We do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have, either wilfully or inadvertently, seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, We do, with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlements; but that if at any time any of the Indians should

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specting that continent, with any potentate of Europe,

be inclined to dispose of the said lands; the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the Governor or Commander in chief of our colonies respectively within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use, and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as We or they shall think proper to give for that purpose. And We do, by the advice of our Privy Council, declare and enjoin that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a licence for carrying on such trade from the Governor and Commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as We shall at any time think fit, by ourselves, or by our commissaries to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade. And We do hereby authorise, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as We shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And We do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management

CANADA
MAINE
NEW YORK
MASSACHUSETTS
PENNSYLVANIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MAP
of the
NORTHERN PROVINCES
of the
UNITED STATES.

WESTERN TERRITORY
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
UNITED STATES TERRITORY
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Map
of the
Southern Provinces
of the
United States

Europe, appeared to be removed for ever.

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ment and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved as aforesaid for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever, who, standing charged with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies or misdemeanors, shall fly from justice, and take refuge within the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard, to the colony where the crime was committed of which they stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT

OF

THE PUBLISHER.

IT having been determined by the AUTHOR *to publish this Work in America, in separate Volumes,* MR. PHILLIPS, *in order to secure his Copy Right, is obliged to conform himself to the same mode of publication; and to publish Volume after Volume as he shall receive the Manuscript.*

Under these circumstances he considers it his duty to the Public to state, that MR. BUSHROD WASHINGTON *has entered into a Bond to finish the Work with all convenient speed, in Four or Five Volumes, similar to the present; and to send the Manuscript to the London Publisher at the same time that it is delivered to the American Publisher.*

MR. PHILLIPS *pledges himself, that no time shall be lost by him in presenting each future Volume to the Public, in a manner correspond-*

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ing to the present. It may be proper to add, that the Copper-plates which accompany this Volume are peculiar to the English Edition; and arrangements have been made for the further Embellishment of the succeeding Volumes, with various Views drawn on the spot, and engraved in England by eminent Artists. In respect to the Letter-press, the English Edition will be printed word for word the same as that published in America. MR. PHILLIPS *is, however, enabled to promise, as an Appendix to a future Volume of the English Edition, an original and most important communication, from an illustrious Statesman in this Country, relative to the secret Causes which brought about the Peace of* 1783.

No, 71, St. Paul's Churchyard,
May 26th, 1804.

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